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*Amber at Persepolis*

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## AMBER AT PERSEPOLIS

In 1961 Professor R. T. Hallock, when I visited him in Chicago, most generously handed to me a preliminary list of proper names occurring in the Elamite Fortification tablets of Persepolis, of which texts, dated from 509 until 494 B. C., he has long been engaged in preparing a monumental edition. In that list I immediately recognized *Yamakšedda*, *Zamašba*, *Narišanka*, *Kanturma*, *Mikrašba*, *Misapušša*, and very many other names, and I resolved, with Hallock's encouragement, to publish them as soon as possible. But further inspection of the material induced me not to hurry.

The list consists of about twelve times the number of names which the Treasury tablets published by Professor Cameron had yielded. The latter include several gems, but cannot as yet be said to have greatly added to our knowledge of Old Iranian dialectology or lexicology. Not so the Fortification names. Before long I came to realize that what Hallock had given me was language material of outstanding importance, capable of yielding linguistic information of a kind we have never had before. And it soon appeared that its revelations were not confined to the linguistic field. Flashes of new information spring from several names on significant aspects of ancient Western Iranian religious and secular life, sometimes linking them with the Avestan evidence, sometimes strikingly, across the silence of the Avesta, with the Vedic. To a considerably greater extent than the narrow scope of the Darius and Xerxes inscriptions gave their authors an opportunity to reveal, the Persepolis names bear witness to the survival in ancient Persis of Indo-Iranian notions and expressions, and conversely, what is of even wider interest, to the Indo-Iranian origin of certain Vedic notions and expressions not attested in the Avesta.

In the light of this realization it seemed only proper to wait with the publication of the Yamakšeddas and Zamašbas until they could be presented in the context of the much wider picture that was beginning to unfold. Other work soon compelled me to put the names aside, but in 1963 I received fresh stimulus from Hallock in the form of a typescript. This consisted of a revised and augmented list of Fortification names which rendered the 1961 list obsolete. A new spurt of work ensued, again to be followed by frequent and long interruptions. But by the end of 1966 I felt at last ready, as soon as opportunity might arise, to gather my notes into an article containing some 810 names out of a total of about 1500 listed in the 1963 typescript.

At just about that time, however, Professor Benveniste, having obtained from Hallock a copy of what is evidently the 1963 typescript, published identifications of approximately 400 names out of it, on pp. 77-97 of his latest book, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien* (with corrections on an *Addenda* slip). "Notre tâche personnelle" he writes on pp. 75 sq. "a été de reconnaître les noms qui sont sûrement ou probablement iraniens ... au milieu d'une onomastique qui doit être élamite dans sa plus grande partie".

M. Benveniste's publication has both simplified and complicated my task. On the one hand I no longer need to list, and have therefore excluded from the present article, most of the approximately 250 names on which his findings more or less coincide with my own. On the other hand my earlier entries on the remaining 150 names (or so) of his selection, on which our views disagree, had to be rewritten so as to take into account M. Benveniste's suggestions.

It is some of the 150, but in the main the 410 (or so) here published for the first time from Hallock's 1963 typescript, which provide the new linguistic and factual information referred to above. If M. Benveniste has missed it, this is quite likely because of his different approach. He set out to find Iranian names in an onomasticon which he believes to be largely Elamite. I formed the impression from the beginning that the majority of names were Iranian, even though for very many an interpretation that I would care to publish, still eludes me.

To the approximately 150+410 names thus assembled in the

present article from Hallock's 1963 typescript, I have added another 140 or so, from a different source. This is a supplementary list of Fortification names which Professor Hallock very kindly sent me after M. Benveniste's book had appeared. In addition interpretations are here offered of six Treasury names published by Professor Cameron.

Thus, taking into account the 250 names not repeated here from M. Benveniste's book<sup>1</sup>, more than half the Fortification names now have proposals for Iranian identification attached to them. I freely admit to doubts on the correctness of many of them, since Elamite spellings can be hopelessly multivalent. But I equally doubt that more than, say, 6 out of the 700 odd names given below will ever turn out to be non-Iranian. Many of the names as yet unpublished may be confidently expected to join *Yamakšedda* and *Zamašba* in time. But on the whole the nuts are getting harder to crack<sup>2</sup>.

Shortage of time and space prevents me from offering a detailed introductory explanation of the technicalities and implications of the identifications here proposed. I hope to remedy

<sup>1</sup> Some of the identifications given of them in Benveniste's book were first proposed by Cameron in *PTT*, who as a non-Iranianist deserves special credit for having established them. These include *Irdakurraduš* (*PTT* p. 6 with n. 32), *Irdasuša* (p. 183), *Irdakiyatiš* (p. 93), *Irdakma* (p. 120), *Bakabada* (p. 95, with a slight misconception), *Parnakka* (p. 91), *Parnadadda* (p. 153), *Barušiatiš* (p. 93), *Šakka* (p. 84), *Šiyatišparna* (p. 93), *Dariyawiš* (p. 91, see below s.v. *Ziškawiš*), *Uštana* (p. 169, with different etymology), *Udana* (p. 142), and *Yaunā* (pp. 199 sq., with a misapprehension on which see below, s.v.). Cf. also below, s.vv. *Tarkāwiš*, *Upirrada*, and *Ziškawiš*.

<sup>2</sup> [Since the typescript of this article was sent in, more than 60 additional identifications in Hallock's 1963 and 1967 lists have occurred to me, and Professor Hallock has communicated to me corrections to some of his readings, as well as new names. Every new bit of information is apt to throw out of gear interpretations previously conceived. I was permitted at proof-stage (June 1968) to correct misconceptions of which I had become aware. But a supplementary article is now called for (apart from the study meanwhile read out, as mentioned below, s.v. *Zikkuku*), which I am engaged in writing. From it I have transferred here only *Midamanya* and *Hiwukkaparda*. The former, because it relieves *Medumannuš*, now confidently analyzable as an *u*-stem, of the vexing ambiguity I had had to leave unresolved s.v. *Irtammanuwiš*. The latter, because it discloses the identity of the second term of *Hiyaukapirša*, on which I had incurred a misapprehension].

See also = 169

this omission soon, at least partly. The list below is of course in itself an explanation, just as in M. Benveniste's book his list is the only explanation of his technical approach. But for the convenience of the reader attention may be drawn under four headings, to a few details among those which account for the difference between M. Benveniste's results and my own.

1st: spelling conventions. El. *-uwiš* signifies an Ir. *u* stem cf. e.g. *Irtammannuwiš*; El. *-a(u)wiš* regularly represents an Ir. *-ā(h)u-* stem (see e.g. s.vv. *Tarkašawiš* and *Hištimauiwiš*), in addition to sometimes being employed instead of *-ama(u)wiš* to represent Ir. *\*ā-va(h)u-* (cf. s.v. *Ziššawiš*); El. *-āwiš*, *-āyawiš* and *-āhuš* point to Ir. stems ending in *-ā(h)yu-* (cf. *Tarkāwiš*, *Bakadāyawiš*, *Apšudāhuš*); El. *ā* stands for Ir. *āy* (cf. *Šādda*, *Tarkāwiš*, *Yaunā*); El. *ts* represents Ir. *θ* (cf. *Atsarma*); El. *(-)a'u-* can stand for Ir. *āyu* (cf. *A'ukka*), El. *-auka* for Ir. *\*ā-va(h)uka-* (cf. *Širauka*), and El. *am*+consonant not only for Ir. *am* but also for *au* (cf. *Duškamda*, *Kammada*, *Umartamna*). An El. postvocalic *ša* would not be the expected reproduction of Ir. *zā* (cf. *Bakeyaša*, *Appiyašana*), nor would El. *sa* directly reproduce Ir. *sā* (cf. *Radamesa*). As to El. *km*, this ought to represent Ir. *xm* or *ym*, not merely *m* (cf. s.v. *Rašdama*), since El. *k* is discountable only before *b* (cf. *Bakakbama*, *Bakukbama*).

2nd: phonetic features. By far the most startling revelation forced upon us by Hallock's names, and of great importance for the rehabilitation of the Avestan Vulgate as a faithful record of ancient Iranian pronunciation, is the widespread nasalization at Persepolis of postvocalic *h* before *a*, *u* (see s.v. *Irtammannuwiš*), antevocalic *y*, and (in *Zimardanra*) antevocalic *r*, with simultaneous velarization of *h* in the first of these positions only (see s.v. *Narišanka*). In the third position I had long suspected such nasalization on the mere strength of the El. renderings *battiyamanyā* of OP *patiyavahyai* in para. 13 of the Behistun inscription<sup>1</sup>, and *Daddumanya* (on which see below, s.v.) of the OP pr.

<sup>1</sup> I fail to understand what induces Rüdiger Schmitt («KZ» 81 [1967], 55) to dismiss the Middle Ir. evidence, disregard Av. *vahma-* and *paiti.vanpha-* (quoted by Bth. where Schmitt quotes him), and revert to the long-abandoned connexion of *patiyāwahyai* with the base *van-*. On the other hand O. Szemerényi's

n. *Dāt[.]vahya-* (Akkad. *za'-tu'-a*) in para. 68<sup>1</sup>. The Fortification names have provided what I regard as impressive confirmation. There is of course no need to assume that the individuals whose names display *-yh-* hailed from 'Avestaland'. We should rather admit that the nasalization in question was an OIr. dialect feature by no means exclusive to Avestan. The same view should be taken of another noteworthy Avestan trait that seems to be present in some names, viz. the change of initial *dv-* to *b-* (attributable through later evidence also to Old Parthian); see *Bakapanda* and *Appišmanda*. Interesting phonetic features that differ from Avestan are mentioned for instance s.vv. *Iršena*, *Irdunya*, *Mirinzali*, *Mammak(k)a*, *Šiyāna*, *Širadamma*, *Dabauša*, *Zitrantakma*. In «JNES», 23 (1964), 38 I pointed out that the MP and NP forms of Zaratuštra's name reveal that the preservation of Indo-Iranian final postvocalic *t* in compound-junction was a characteristic of the Median language. Hallock's lists provide further examples with *Baratkama*, *Baraddumawiš* (both identified also by Benveniste), and the wholly delightful *Abbatašba*. The list below includes surprises also in respect of other phonetic traits, as well as features morphological and compositional.

3rd: vocabulary. Among the many Sanskrit words of which no counterparts were previously attested in ancient Iranian, in addition to none having been noticed, as far as I am aware, in later Iranian, are *aśvattha*, *indh*, *toka*, *nidhruvi*, *bandhu*, *rapś*, *vigra* (this one recognized also by Benveniste), *vibuddha*, *vyañj*, *śubhra*, *śrāvasta*, *sapti*, *sambhāvya*, *sevā* (and *upasevate*), and the Rigvedic hapax *svāvasu*. Skt *bīja* and Sogd. *βyz'k* combine to make possible the recognition of OP *\*bīd|za-* for "seed". Sogdian by itself has helped inter alia with its *ywēk*, *ny'm*, *myt'k*, *βrz'k*; Ossetic with its *idard*, *æxsar*, *zæy'n*; Ossetic and Sogdian with their *fætk*, *pðk'*; New Persian with its *čōb*, *pārū*, *durust*, *tihū*,

suggestion («Sprache» 12 [1966], 209) that the base of the OP verb corresponds to Hitt. *was-*, is appealing.

<sup>1</sup> The emendation of OP *Dāt[.]vahya-* to *Dāt[u]vanya-* as proposed by Mayrhofer (of which I only know from Rüdiger Schmitt, loc. cit., n. 1) will now be found unnecessary. [*Festschrift Wilhelm Eilers*, 217 sqq., where Mayrhofer disbelievingly refers to Herzfeld's correct appreciation of *n* in the El. rendering of this name].

*gāvars, gardūn, kāk, kākhrubā*. To the last word I give the crown, as amber is surely one of the most attractive commodities to find the Persepolitans familiar with. Familiarity can safely be presumed, as it is not likely that Kašruba derived his name from the one bead of amber which the Persepolis site has so far yielded (see Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, 131). Avestan naturally has the lion's share in suggesting likely identifications. That language, however, is not only the giver. It gains, for instance, in respect of *ašahunara-*, *haxō.aya-*, *habāspa-*, *xaurīra-*; its *ātərədaiiḥu-* now finds himself in good company; and it is stimulating to learn that e.g. its *nā spəntō*, *spā urupiš*, or the Gandarəwa myth, not to speak of its *āθrauan-* priests (and in more Vedic than Avestan garb), or less confidently, its *saošyant-*s, were not unknown in Western Iran.

4th: patronymic suffixation. The suffixes which I believe to have identified so far (there may be more) are five: (a) *-āna-* (cf. Av. *jāmāspana-*, *hačcaj. aspānā-*, and below e.g. s.vv. *Šandupirzana*, *Māšana*, and the transparent *Udusana*; see Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup> 205, 283); (b) *-āni-* (cf. Av. *āθwyāni-*, and below e.g. *Unabanuš*); (c) *-i-* (cf. Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup> 302, and below e.g. *Parrumaturriš*); (d) *-ya-* (cf. OP *haxāmanišya-*, and below, *Pirdakamiya* and *Raziya*); and (e) *-āyana-* (cf. Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup> 281-3, and below e.g. s.vv. *Harrēna*, *Datena*, *Ašbena*). Patronymics of course easily come to be used as proper names, from Bactria (βορζομν-γορνογο) to the British Isles (*Robinson*).

The semantic connotations of the names range over the whole gammut, or so it would seem, of ancient Iranian life, and provide a unique insight, even allowing for many uncertainties, into the social and cultural background of their bearers, many of whom were humble folk. We have long known brass-hats in plenty, the Megapherneses, Ariabignes, and Artakhshathrases. How refreshing now to meet the "ant-killer", "seed-chewer", "mouth-squirt", "froth-eye", or the "well-found" foundling. These were clearly nicknames to start with, which had come to cling to the unfortunate bearers, as had descriptions like "hairy", "fat", "disgusting", or "vicious". Several names, if the interpretations here offered are correct, refer to peculiar circumstances, like "having a beautiful daughter-in-law", "Greek-panderer", "the foot-bitten", or "the three-legged one", others hint

at the date or rank of birth, or at twinship, others still at remote myths or religious practices. Plant and animal names are common, for instance "millet", "juniper", "*jag*-tree", "mouse", "porcupine" (this also apud Benveniste), "dog". The women's names, though much fewer than men's also do not lack variety, ranging from the gallant "beautiful", "fragrant", "honeycomb" (?), "dear to all", or "pre-eminent", to the more factual "owner of many dresses", "laywoman", "easy to lift", "strong", or "turgescient". Aspects of the ancient Iranian ideal of womanly beauty are conveyed by names translatable as "having long eye-lashes" and "possessing beautiful thighs".

The question as to whether or not some of the names are of "inspiration zoroastrienne", which M. Benveniste raises on pp. 97 sg. and answers in the negative, is best left in abeyance. Several names occurring in the "listes de canonisation conservées dans le Yašt XIII" are also found at Persepolis, and the term *spanta-*, to which Benveniste attaches importance, seems to be present at least in *Našpanda*. Neither circumstance disproves Benveniste's negative view, but it is hard to be satisfied that they confirm it. The possibilities mooted below s.vv. *Šaušā* and *Mirinzamna*, and the presence in the onomasticon of a Mr Atsarma in addition to a Mr Makuš, are also relevant to the question posed by Benveniste, as are the identifications proposed below for *Izrudukma* and *Umi*. But the problem which such names raise even more acutely is the definition of what one is to understand by "Zoroastrianism" and its "inspiration" in the context of the religious situation obtaining in Western Iran in the last decade of the sixth century and the first of the fifth. This is the problem which I tried to face in « JNES », 23 (1964), 12 sgg., an article which, by the time its final version came to be written, could not fail to derive some encouragement from a preliminary study of the Fortification names.

It is hoped that the relative scarcity of question marks accompanying the interpretations here offered will not be taken for lack of awareness on the author's part of the conjectural nature of many of them. Although I am prepared to shock the reader I am anxious to exert no more than fair pressure. My intention was to make out a case for treating as tractable not only names of the *Yamakšēda* and *Zamašba* type, but also a good many

which at first sight may seem unpromising. And I did not want the case to appear weaker than I believe it to be by hedging it in with question marks, as its validity does not depend so much on the correctness of every single identification as on whether there emerge from the sum total of interpretations a fairly regular pattern of Elamite transposition, a recognizably Iranian behaviour of onomastic formation, and, if the assumption of dialect variation is called for, a range of it consistent with facts known from other sources. Many identifications, one fears, will forever remain conjectural. But once we have Hallock's edition of the tablets some measure at least of control will be provided by social unsuitability. For obviously a name cannot very well have meant "the disgusting" or "mouth-squirt" if its bearer was a high-ranking official.

It gives me pleasure to present this list, dreary as lists are by definition, to Professor Antonino Pagliaro, who when I was 19 introduced me to Indo-European comparative philology, from whom I first learned of the existence of such languages as Pahlavi and Sogdian, under whose auspices I wrote my Roman dissertation, and who arranged for parts of it to be published<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> «SIFC», 15 (1938), 131–161 and 173–192. In the list of Persepolis names which now follows (and in the separate one s.v. *Atpizza*) the inception of names has been arranged in the following alphabetic order: (h)a, (h)i (before consonant), k, l, m, n, p/b, r, s, š, t/d, (h)u, y and (before vowel or h) hi, z. Non-initially the order of consonants (double ones being counted as single, and h continuing to be disregarded just as w is in all positions) takes precedence over that of vowels (which here include e). For the OP sign usually transcribed 𐎧, 𐎦, or 𐎨 I write s to suit my typewriter. Hallock's 1963 typescript gives, bracketed separately, a question mark where there is a doubt about the reading (which is usually dispelled by a striking suggestiveness of Iranian names or words as would not be likely to influence the judgement of a non-Iranological epigraphist), the figure 1 if a name occurs only once, and occasionally variants, all of which indications I reproduce. In Hallock's supplementary list hapaxes (if any) are not indicated, but names followed by question marks have the letters to which the query refers underlined. These letters are printed between hyphens in my list. All names are of men (or boys) unless otherwise stated. The abbreviation "B." refers to M. Benveniste, "apud B." to his book quoted above, "Bth." to Bartholomae (if no title follows, to his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*), "PTT" to George G. Cameron's *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, and "Wn." or "Wn.-Debr." to Wackernagel's (partly also Debrunner's) *Altindische Grammatik*. "Abaev" and "Mayrhofer" with no following title refer respectively to the

**A'ukka** (1): \*āyuka- "the everlasting" = "may he live long", cf. Sogd. 'ykwn. See *Da'uka* s.v. *Dāhiwukka*, and *Ba'uka*.

**Akkamka** (1): \*a-gau-ka- "poor, without possessions", lit. "cattle-less". Cf. *Iškamtakka*.

**Akmakka** (1): \*haxmaka- "belonging to the community", -ka- extension of a thematization of what in Av. is *haxman-*. As thematization is commonly found in composition, the underlying \*haxma- was probably a name retrenched from some compound, a "Kurzwort" of which \*haxmaka- was a hypocoristic.

**AKKAMRIŠ**: \*haxāuri-, patronymic of \*haxā-a(h)ura- "having Ahura as friend".

**HAKNADA** (fem.): \*agna-dā "giver, bestower, of \*agna-"? Cf. Av. *dāštāyni-* (pr. n.), patronymic (thus sensibly Justi) of \*dāšta-agna- "he by whom \*agna- has been obtained". Is \*agna- to be analyzed as \*a-gna- "absence of, freedom from, injury, = invulnerability", cf. Av. *vərəθrayna-*?

**Akbaka** (?) (1) = *Abbakka*, q.v.

**Akruru**: \*āxrūru-, to Av. *āxrūra-* (pr. n.)? Cf. s.v. *Zikkuku*.

**Hakkurda**: \*hakyta- "the sudden one", retrenchment with thematic extension of some compound like Av. *hakərəḷ.gan-*.

**Akriya** (1) ~ Av. *ayrya-* "the foremost".

**Aksušda**: \*āxsūsta- (thus also B.), perhaps as "unwashed, filthy", to NP *šustan*.

**Akšimašra**: \*axšī-vazra- from \*axšya(t)-vazra- (for ī < ya see s.v. *Manyaškurra*) "hurling a mace", to Oss. *axšin* "to hurl" (pres. stem as in Av. *ahya-* "to throw")? For El. *šr* = *zr* cf. *Irtāšra*, and see s.v. *Mašdadda*. Cf. also *Šumizakka* and *Turmebada*, and *Darišarna* apud B.

**Akkadatiza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

former author's *Istoriko-etimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka* and the latter's *Concise etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*. Typographic distinction: (a) *lower case italics* (except for the initial capital letter) = names published by B. from Hallock's 1963 typescript, and the six names taken from Cameron's publications; (b) *all-capital italics* = names quoted from Hallock's supplementary list; (c) *fat type* = names here published for the first time from Hallock's 1963 typescript (although a few of them also occur in published Treasury tablets or have otherwise been mentioned in print by Hallock or Cameron).

**Akkaya** (var. v. **Akkāya**): \*hāxāya- "befriended", cf. Skt *sākheya*.

**Akkiya** (1): \*hāxiya-, adj. to *haxi*- "friend".

**Ammukka** and, fem., **Amukka** (1): \*ama-vahukā- "strong and good, κατεροκαγαθός"? Cf. *Mukka* on the one hand, *Širauka* on the other. See *Ammumanya*. The name cannot simply be a variant of *Mauka* as Cameron, PTT 91, suggests.

**Ammumanya** (1): \*amā-vayhya(h)-, comparative to *Ammukka*, cf. *Dadumanya* and *Bakumanya*.

**AMBAMIYA**: \*ham-bāvyā- ~ Skt *sambhāvyā* "honourable, respectable".

**Ambana** \*ham-pāna- "the (= looking like a) goat-skin, flour-māšk", cf. Morgenstierne, «NTS» 5, 40, s.v. *aphān*. For the image cf. *Baduzarma*.

**Ampirdawiš**: \*ham-frāda-va(h)u- "contributor to furthering what is good". See *Pirradawiš*.

**Ampiriya** (1): \*ham-frya- "love-exchanger", cf. Skt *sāmpriya* "mutually dear".

**Ampiša** (1) reminds one of Oss. *ambis* "half", which according to Miller derives from \*ham-paisa- "of equal configuration, matching" cf. Abaev, I 138. A reference to identical twinship? Cf. s.v. *Ammitmanya*, and see *Ampišna*.

**Ampišna** (1) = \*ham-pišna- may belong to *Ampiša*.

**Ambauza** (?) (1): \*ham-bauja- "partaker", to Skt *sambhuj*.

**Ammarna**, retrenched name, to Av. *āvarəna*- "profession of faith".

**Hamarša** (1): \*a-varša- "hairless", see s.v. *Maršakka*, and cf. *Karma*. Note also *Appumarša*.

**Hamaratsa** (?) (1): \*hava(t)-raθa- "chariot-impeller", cf. Ved. *savá* "one who sets in motion or impels". On the value of El. *atsa* see s.v. *Radamesa*.

**Amusa** (?) (1): \*ham-uθa- (~ Av. *usa*-) "the willing".

**Ammasuzawiš** (?) (1): \*ama-aθēu- "having strong shins", cf. Av. *ama*- "kräftig" and *aθēu*-. The El. spelling represents the dehnform nom. sg. \*asčāuš, which is also otherwise indirectly attested through Pašto *aca* (see Morgenstierne, «NTS», 12 (1940), 262, and cf. my *AHM* 221, 327). Note that it is in any case the strong stem which accounts for č in this word, as against the g/k of Oss. *isgü* (see «BSOAS», 14 [1952], 488 n. 1). The OP nom.

sg. *dahyāuš* is similarly rendered in El. by *da-a-ia-u-iš* = *dāyawiš*, e.g. in *Beh.* ii 28. Other cases in point are *Tarkašawiš* and perhaps *Aprakawiš* qq.v.).

**Ammitmanya** (1): \*ham-miθwanya- (to Av. *miθwana*- "gepa-art") "mitgepaart", as name of a twin (differently B.). Cf. *Ammadadda*, *Ampiša*, and *Dumitauka*.

**Hamiturra** (1): \*hamiθra- "intriguer, plotter", cf. OP *hami-siya*-.

**AMMADDA** (fem.): \*āmātā-, fem. of OP *āmātā*- (*Beh.* i 7) "distinguished", cf. Man. MP *sr'm'dg* (Andreas-Henning, *Mir. Man.* II 353<sup>b</sup>).

**Ammadadda** (var. *Hama*-). B. does not commit himself: \*ama-(ou *hama*-)dāta-. Hallock, in his 1961 list, justly referred to *Hmdt* in Esther 3,1, which despite Justi, *NB* 125, has an Iranian appearance, cf. s.v. *Muška*. Perhaps ~ \*hāma-zāta- "sharing his birth (cf. Ved. *jātā*)", of a twin or triplet. Cf. s.v. *Ammitmanya*.

**Haena**: \*haina-, to Av. *hānā*-, either as "enemy army" or as "missile" (cf. RV *ārṣtiseṇa*, pr. n.). Retrenched name.

**ANAKKA**: \*anāka- "the stealthy", thematization of what in Av. is *an-ākāh*-.

**Ankama** (1): \*han-gāma-, retrenched name, either to *Anka-maššiš* (q.v.), in which case cf. *Zama*, or to NP *hangām* "time" (in which case cf. s.v. *Unukama*).

**Ankumana** (1): \*anymāna-, patron. of a retrenched name \*anyma-, see *Ankumarma*.

**Ankumarma**: \*anyma-arma- "wearing bracelets"; cf. Av. *qymō.pad*- "wearing anklets", and see *Irmama* and *Marmaka*.

**ANKAMASŠIŠ** (fem.): \*hangāmāšī-, fem. (cf. Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup>, 376) of \*hangāma(t)as(p)a- "horse-assembler", a compound synonymous with the ones discussed below, s.v. *Abbatašba*. Cf. on the one hand Parth. and MP *ng'm* "assembly" (Ghilain, *Essai* 72, Henning, «ZII», 9, 227), on the other MP *hne'm*-/hng'pt- "to assemble" (Henning, op. cit., 190 sq.). It is then likely that *Anzamanna* is not simply = Av. *hanjamana*- "réunion" (as B. thinks), but represents \*hanjāmāna-, a patronymic of \*hanjāma-, the latter being a retrenchment of \*hanjāmāspa-, the palatal variant of the now recovered \*hangāmāspa-. One may further conclude that Av. *jāmāspa*-, attested at Persepolis as *Zamašba*

(apud B.) means "leading horses", to Parth. *šām-* "führen, conduire" (Ghilain, loc. cit.), rather than "exerting, emaciating" them as H. W. Bailey suggests with reference to Khot. *ggaunda* («RO», 21 [1957], 61 n. 13). The latter however, if its base is \**gam-*, may belong to Parth. *'bg'm* "torment, agony", *'bj'm-* "to torture, agonize" (as well as Sogd. *'wγ'm* "torment", see Benveniste, *TSP*, 206) which Szemerényi, «ZDMG», 1951, 219, has attractively assigned to IE \**gem-* "to press".

*ANKUDDA* (fem.): \**han-gutā-* "the punctual" (perhaps at the time of her birth, cf. *Zamannumā*), to Oss. (Dig.) *ənyud* "appointed time. Russ. *srok*", see Abaev s.v.

*ANBADUŠ*: \**han-bādu-* (to Av. *bāzu-* "arm") "the embracer", perhaps retrenched from \**hanbādu-kara-*, or sim.

*Antarma* ~ Av. *antara-māh-*, which puzzled Benveniste, should mean "born on new-moon's day". See s.v. *Zimakka*.

*Anzamanna* (1), see s.v. *Ankamaššiš*.

*Habba* (1): \**haba-* "assembler", retrenched from *habāspa-* or sim., cf. *Kamšaba* and see s.v. *Abbatašba*.

*Abbakka* (1), quoted without explanation by B. under his first entry, is a *-ka-* extension of \**haba-*, see *Habba* and *Akbaka*.

*Abauka* (?) (1): *-ka-* extension of \**haba(t)-vahu-* "he who assembles, amasses, goods" (cf. *Dāraya(t)-vahu-*). See s.vv. *Abbatašba*, *Kamšaba*, and *Širauka*.

*Abbakama*: thematic extension (cf. s.v. *Ziššawiš*) of \**haba-gav-* "he who assembles cattle", of which *Kamšaba* (q.v.) is the inversion. Differently Benveniste.

*Appumanya* (vars. *Hapu-*, *Ap-*), left undecided by B., is surely ~ Av. *aiwi.vanyah-* "victorious".

*Appumarša* (1): \**abi-varša-* (formed like Av. *aiwi.aofah-* ?), to Av. *varšava-* (n. pr.)? Or "the hairy" (v. Wn. II, 1, 282)? Cf. *Maršakka*.

*Apmizza* (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*ABNUAŠBA* looks like \**āfnu-aspa-* (without glide) "he who obtains horses". One may compare, though here contraction took place, El. *kurnukkaš* = OP *knuvaka-* "artisan", an identification independently established by Cameron and Benveniste, cf. the latter, «JA», 1958, 60 sq., 65. The base *ap-* is of course common enough in Avestan, but this would be the first

appearance in Iranian of the pres. stem corresponding to Ved. *āpnōti*. Moreover, the use of such a stem as first compound-term would be a noteworthy addition to the variety of verbal "premiers termes régissants" listed by Duchesne-Guillemin in *Les composés de l'Avesta*, 198 sqq.

**Appirka** (1): *-ka-* extension of \*(h)šf|bra-, cf. the next three names.

*Aprakawiš* (1) is related by B. to Av. *afrika-*. However, the ending shows that the name is an *-u-* stem, hence presumably a compound containing either *vahu-* "good" (cf. s.v. *Ziššawiš*) or *gu-* "cow" (cf. s.v. *Ammasuzawiš*). *Appirka* would permit the former interpretation of *Aprakawiš*, but does not require it, while *Appirmarša* and *Apramatiš* seem to favour the latter. The scales of probability therefore incline towards "having cattle that is *apra*".

**Appirmarša** (1) may be a compound of *varša-* "hair" (cf. s.v. *Maršakka*) and the word \*(h)šf|bra- which we seem to have in *Appirka*, *Aprakawiš*, and *Apramatiš*. It is presumably safe to exclude the negative of Av. *frā.vərəsa-*, seeing that neither "whose hair has not been torn off" nor "not writhing" (*AHM* 265) would make a very likely personal name. Bearing in mind the possible "cattle" of *Aprakawiš* one may hazard the guess that the unknown word denotes a colour. I have considered Lat. *flavus* and suchlike, but it would be simpler to make it "dark" as an adjectivization of "thunder-cloud", Av. *awra-*, Ved. *abhrá*. The alternative of linking *Appirmarša* with Ved. *abhrávarša* "raining from the clouds" seems unattractive.

*Apramatiš* (1) is the last of my \*(h)šf|bra- names. Conceivably = \**abra-vadi-* "having dark-coloured milch cows" to Av. *vazī-*? Differently Benveniste.

**Hapirsa** (1). This is the first of quite a number of names of a botanical nature. Animals, too, are well represented. *Hapirsa* is clearly \**hapr̥θa-* "juniper", cf. Av. *hapr̥θsi-*, MP, Parth. *'bwr[s]*, Henning, «BSOAS», 11 (1943), 59<sup>73</sup> and 63 n. 6; see also Henning, *Sogdica* 41, and Morgenstierne, «TPhS», 1948, 71. See the next name.

**Hapirtiya** (var. *-par-*): \**hapr̥θya-* "the juniperous, evergreen". See the preceding name.

**Hapisuma** (1): \**a-piθwa-* "the frugal (< going without food)",



or *\*abi-iθwa-* "the approachable, unreserved", cf. Av. *an-upōiθwa-*.

**Appišuka** (1): *\*abi-sauka-* "the shining", cf. Ved. *abhi-śocá*, and (apud B.) *Šukakara*.

**Appišmanda:** thematic extension of *\*a-biřvant-* ~ Av. *\*aṭbiřvant-* "guileless". Cf. *Battitbeřša* = *\*pati-tḡaiřša-* (apud B.), where it is Avestan which for a change has *paiti-biři-*. Cf. *Appištizza* s.v. *Atpizza*. Other names with *b < tḡ < dv* are *Bakapanda* and *Napiyapiř*. More on *dv* s.v. *Rapitbena*. On *\*manda* see s.v. *Bakunda*.

*APPİŠTİZZA*, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Apřudāhuř:** *\*ařř-dahyu-*, an interesting aquatic counterpart to the Av. proper names *āterədaiřhu-* and *āterezantu-*. Cf. also *Bakadāyawiř*, *Ramadāwiř*, and *Bakatanduiř*, below. Bth. gingerly interpreted *āterədaiřhu-* as "zum D. des Feuers gehörig". Here all depends on what is meant by "D.". The three compounds, if they are as archaic as I suspect them to be, may shed some light on the vexed question of the relation between the Ved. *dasyu-s* "foes" (cf. Macdonell, *Gdr. d. Indo-Ar. Phil., Vedic Mythology*, 157) and OIr. *dahyu-* "province, country", which was last discussed by H. W. Bailey in *JTPHS*, 1959, 107-115. I understand that relation to be closely paralleled by the one which obtains between English *foe*, *fief* (*fee*), and *feud*. The Indo-Iranian masc. *\*dasyu-* was the "foe", the fem. *\*dasyu-* the "fief" which subsequently became the "domain", "province", and (at least in Sogd. and NP) "village". Our three compounds would accordingly reflect a prehistoric feudal society projected into the divine world, in which *Baga* (see Henning, *BSOAS*, 28 [1965], 242 sqq.), *Ātar*, *Āp*, and *Rāman* were conceived of as feudal lords, so that "zum D. [= fief] des Feuers gehörig" originally meant "Fire's feudary", in practice "Fire's subject, servant". With the loss of the precise technical meaning "fief" of *dahyu-* the second element of these onomastic compounds came to be identified with the fourth of the series *nmāna-|vis-|zantu-|dahyu-* (cf. *AHM* 296 sqq.), so that secondarily names like Av. *āterezantu-* and OP *\*bagadantu-* (see s.v. *Bakatanduiř*) could be coined. On *dahyu-* as "fief" cf. also below, s.v. *Dāhiwukka*.

**Abbatema** (var. *-dāma*): *\*apa-daiva-* "he who turns away from the daivas", cf. Av. *vī-daēva-*.

**Habatra** (var. **Abba**): *\*a-badra-* "the luckless", or (cf. Skt *abhadra*) "inauspicious, mischievous"; to Av. *hu-badra-*, on which cf. H. W. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1954, 29.

*Appitranka*, see s.v. *Mitranka*.

*Aptiř* (in a Treasury tablet), treated in *PTT* 117 as El., more likely represents OP *\*hafti-* "steed", see *Uřaptiř* and cf. s.v. *Muřka*.

**ABBATAřBA:** *\*habat-aspa-* "he who assembles horses", a form shown by its *t* to be Median (see *JNES*, 23, 1964, 38). But the *t* also conveys another message. It reveals that the usual identification of the first element of the Av. pr. n. *habāřpa-* with *\*habā* = Ved. *sabhā* "assembly" was only partly correct (it never was compositionally satisfying), as the Avestan form of the name stands to the Persepolitan one like Av. *barō.zaoθrā-* to Av. *barař.zaoθrā-*. We thus recover an Iranian present stem *\*haba-* "to assemble", recognizable also in the names listed below, s.v. *Kamřaba*, from a base which in Indo-Aryan is attested only in the Vedic noun *sabhā*. It is then likely that Arm. *Hamazasp*, which Hübschmann (*Arm. Gr.* 47) linked with Skt *samāja* "assembly" (and reasonably so, in view of the supposed presence of *\*habā-* "assembly" in Av. *habāřpa-*), represents not *\*hamāzāřpa-* as Hübschmann thought, but *\*hamaza-aspa-* (cf. now Parth. *hmez'sp*, Šāpūr KZ, line 25). The first component of the name would be a governing pres. stem *\*ham-aza-* corresponding to RV *sam-ajati* "zusammentreiben", and the meaning of the compound synonymous not only with *haba(t)-aspa*, but also with *\*hangāmāřpa-* and *\*hanřāmāřpa-* (see s.v. *Ankamařřiř*), with which names, moreover, *Hamazasp* would share the use of a composite verbal form as first compound-term.

**APDADDA:** *\*ab(da)-dāta-*, to Av. *abda-* "miraculous, astonishing" (cf. Henning, *Sogdica*, 53). *abda-* is from *\*a-dbda-*, to Ved. *ādbhuta*, according to a private communication of Sir Harold Bailey's.

**Abbateya** (var. *-tiya*): *\*āpātiya:* "ābādī - dweller" (as opposed to nomad), -*ya-* derivative of *\*āpāta-*, cf. Arm. *apat*, Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.* 97.

**APPİYA:** *\*āpiya-|afya-* "Mr Waterman", cf. Skt *āpya*. Note *Ubabanā*, below.

*Appiyama* (1), over which B. hesitates, is attested in Av. as *aiwiyāma-* "überstark".

*Appiyašana* (var. *Hapi-*). Neither B.'s *\*yasna-* nor his *\*yazana-* are acceptable. Probably = *\*yāsāna-*, patron. of *\*yāsa-*, cf. *Bakeyaša*. If the preverb is *abi*, the meaning will be "solicitous", in conformity with Skt *abhi-yāc-*, cf. W. P. Schmid, « IF », 62, 232 sqq.

**Appizaknuš** = *\*abi-čayni-*. This closely agrees, except for the different preverb, with the form *\*pāti-čaynya-* reconstructed by Benveniste, « JA » 1934, 182 sq., as the source on the one hand of Hebr. *ptšgn* "copy", on the other of Sogd. *p'tcyny* "answer" (the common denominator being "réplique"). B. saw that the base was Av. *čag-* "accorder, assurer, offrir". Hence *\*abi-čayni-* might mean "the forthcoming, gracious, out to please". Cf. *Zakmana*.

**APPUZANA**. A haplological shortening of *\*apa-b(a)uʃ°* or *\*abi-b(a)uʃ°*, preverbal compounds that would be in line with *Mipuzana* (q.v.), seems unlikely. So perhaps the compound is *\*ap-b(a)uʃ°*, with *ap-* "water". On p. 114 of his book B. interprets *Μαυβουζανης*, *Μιθραβουζανης*, and *Σαθραβουζανης* as "jouissance de la Lune, de Mithra, du royaume", relying on the Vedic noun *bhōjana* " (object de) jouissance, possession". But just as he plausibly sees a present stem in the second component of OP *Baga-buxša-*, translating the name (p. 112) as "qui sert (ou satisfait) le dieu" (*recte* either "les dieux" or, preferably, "Baga", see Henning, « BSOAS », 28, 1965, 242 sqq.), so also our compounds in Gr. *-avης*, El. *-ana*, are best interpreted as *-āna-* patronymics of names ending in a pres. stem *b(a)uʃa-*, hence meaning « qui sert la Lune, Mithra, le royaume » and, in the case of *Appuzana*, "l'Eau" (cf. *Apšudāhuš*, above).

**HARRIWUKKA**: *-ka-* extension of *\*arī-va(h)u-* < *\*arya-va(h)u-* "the good Iranian", a juxtaposition with the adjective in the second place, as per *GMS*, p. 252<sup>148</sup>. On *ī* < *ya* see s.v. *Atpizza* (after the list) and s.v. *Manyaškurra*.

**HARRIKKAMA**: *\*arya-kāma-* "he who is the desire of the Iranians"; on *ī* for *ya* see the preceding name.

**Harriumuna** (var. *-riuna*): *\*arya-vahuna-* (Av. *vohuna-*) "of Iranian blood". Cf. *Mamnak(k)a?*

**HARMANIZZA**: either an *-izza* hypocoristic (see s.v. *Atpizza*), perhaps of a retrenched name *\*arman(a)-*, to NP *armān* "trouble, grief", cf. Henning, « BSOS », 10, 95 (where Sogd.

*rm'n* is doubtful, see Benveniste, « JA » 1951, 123); or a compound *\*arma(n)-niža-* "washing away troubles or grief, consoler", to Av. *naīg-*, cf. *Yt* 8.43?

**Harmišda** (var. *Harra-*): *\*armaištā-* "the lonely, secluded", to Av. *armaēštā-*, cf. Henning, *Zoroaster* 45. Differently B.

**Harrimada** (1): *\*arya-vāda-* "leader of Iranians". On *ī* for *ya* see *Harriwukka*.

**Harmeza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Harrēna**. Although first presented in normalized spelling in Hallock's 1963 typescript, this name has long been known in its syllabic spelling *Har-ri-e-na*, and was interpreted by Benveniste, « JA » 1958, 54, as "probably representing" *\*āryaina-*, with suffixation as in Av. *hamō.nāfācna-* and, according to B., Aram. *Nfyn*. Actually, both El. *Harrēna* and Aram. *Nfyn* are patronymics, *\*aryāyana-* and *\*nāfāyana-*, respectively of *arya-* and *nāfa-*.

**Harriuna**, variant of *Harriumuna* (q.v.).

**Harbakka** (?) (1) (fem.): B. does not mention that this name belongs to a woman. See the next four names.

**Harbauka** (?) (1): *\*(h)arpa- + ahū- + ka-*? Cf. Sogd. *'rpuw*, where *-wy* may be from *ahū-* or *ahvā-* "mind". The meaning of the Sogd. word was defined by Benveniste and Weller as "pénétrant" in *Dhy* 6, cf. Henning, « BSOS », 10, 102, while in *Dhu* 74 "sympathetic" seems to be required. Is the mysterious word the ancestor of Oss. *arf* "deep" (cf. Abaev s.v.)? For *\*ahū-ka-* cf. *Šaddukka*. There is, however, another possibility, viz. that *Harbauka* is formed like *Širauka* (q.v.). If so, the word for "deep" in *\*(h)arpā-vahuka-* had perhaps the sense of Germ. *innig*, cf. Av. *gufra-*. See the next three names, and the preceding.

**Harbawukbama** (1): *\*(h)arpa-upā(h)va-* "having \*deep \*preoccupations"?? This is to assign to *\*upāh-va-* the meaning of Av. *upaṇha-* ("preoccupation" < "being upon") and the stem-formation of Av. *havaṇhva-*, *parāhva-*. Cf. *Bakukbama* below, and see *Harbauka*.

*Harbamišša*, quoted without explanation by B., is perhaps = *\*(h)arpa-misa-* "entertaining deep thoughts", cf. *Dadamišša* and *Harbauka*.

**Harbeza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Harraštamka** (1), see s.v. *Aššašutukka*.

**HARTIKKA**: \*arθika-, -ka- extension of a patron. of a retrenched name \*arθa-, to Av. arəθa- "business, duty".

**Hardadda** (1): \*har(da)-dāta- "born obstinate", to Av. harədāspa-?

**Harrizza** (1) and **Harriyazza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**AŠŠAKA**: \*asaka- (Av. \*aspaka-).

**Aššamanda** (1): thematic extension of \*asavant- (Av. \*aspavant-). See *Ašbamatiš* and *Bakunda*.

**Aššanka** (1): \*asanga- "stone", retrenched name.

*Ašbamatiš* (1) (fem.): \*aspavati- "pourvue de chevaux" (apud B.). Add a reference to *Aššamanda*, above.

**AŠBENA**: \*aspāyana-, patron. of a retrenched name *aspa-*.

**Aššapanda** (1): \*asa-banda- "horse-binder".

*Ašbašda* (var. -buš-). B. has failed to consider what to my mind is the obvious identification, and a highly interesting one: \*aspasta-, corresponding to the Vedic name of the holy fig tree, *aśvatthā* (thought to mean "Standort der Rosse"). The obvious inference to draw from it is that the name and notion of that tree go back to the Indo-Iranian period. The name *Aššašutukka* (q.v.) may also refer to it.

*Ašbaštiya* (var. *Aššaš-*) (quoted by B.): \*as(p)āštiya-, derivative of either the preceding or, more likely, of \*as(p)āsti- "lucerne" (see Bailey, «BSOAS», 13 [1949], 121), cf. *Kamirsa* below.

*Ašbatašda*: "having the build (\*tāšta-) of a horse". Differently Benveniste.

*Ašbazza* (var. -bezza), quoted without the variant by B. s.v. *Ašbazana* (on which see Cameron, *PTT*, p. 103), is not an "abrége" of the latter, but belongs, like *Išbakazza*, to the names listed below s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Aššara** ~ Av. asāra- "independent".

**Aššašutukka** (1). For the analysis of this name a comparison with *Harraštamka* (1) may be helpful. The latter, in view of the Av. pr. n. *ārāstyā-*, may be a haplology of \*ārāsta-tauka- "Ārāsta's offspring" (cf. *Nappatamka* below). At this rate one obtains for *Aššašutukka* an Iranian form \*asasta-tauka-, in which \*asasta- would be the proper OP variant of \*aspasta- (see s.v. *Ašbašda*). The name might then simply mean "offspring of the individual called As(p)asta". But if the name was in use centuries earlier,

the original name-givers may have thought of the child on whom they bestowed it, as an offspring of the holy fig tree, expecting him to inherit from the tree the virtues of the mythical heroes who once used to meet in its shade (cf. *RV* i 135.8, with Geldner's note). Cf. Assy. *Ašpaštatauk* (820 B. C.), Schrader, *KB* i 182<sup>52</sup>.

*Aššašturrana* (1): \*asa-aštrāna-, patron. of \*as(p)a-aštra- "scourge, slave-driver", lit. "horse-whip", to Av. *aštrā-*. Differently Benveniste. Cf. *Mantašturra*.

*Aššaštiya*, see *Ašbaštiya*.

*Haššidadda* (var. -š-) = Ἡσίδανης (B.). For the first component, which B. identifies with Av. *haiθya-*, cf. alternatively Av. *haši.dava-* and *haši.ībiš-*. Note *Hašizza* s.v. *Atpizza*. See also s.v. *Attiya*.

**Aštiya** (1) ~ Av. *azdya-* "the fat". Cf. s.v. *Mašdadda*.

**Hašizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Attekama** (?) (1): \*haθya-kāma- "desirous of truth", see s.v. *Attiya*.

*HATIKANA* resembles Parth. *tykn*, the name of one of the estates mentioned in the Nisa documents (see Djakonov and Livšic, *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik*, II, 1966, 136).

*ATTEMANYA*: \*haθyāi-vanhyā-, compar. to *Attiyauka*, see *Dadumanya*. The secondary nature of *n* is guaranteed by Eg. *Atiyavahy*, see G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, 122, 178.

**Attemira** (1): \*haθya-vīra- "a real hero", see s.v. *Attiya*.

**Attimeš** (?) (1): \*āθi-vaya- "chasing away fear", cf. Av. *vaya-* "jagen" (base *vā(y)-*) and see s.v. *Attiya*.

**Attena** (1): \*āθiyāna- or \*haθyāna-, patron. of *Attiya* (q.v.).

**Attebaka** (1): \*haθya-pā-ka- "protecting truth", see s.v. *Attiya*.

**Attepūka** (1): \*āθiyā-bauga- "releasing from fear", see s.v. *Attiya*.

*HADABANUŠ*: \*hada-bānu- "equipped with splendour".

*Attihubadda* (1), see s.v. *Attiya*.

**Atpizza** (1). Cameron was the first to point out (*PTT* 91) the frequent occurrence of hypocoristica ending in -izza. In order to show that the presence of this element creates a strong presumption that the preceding syllable or syllables, in the present case *Atp-*, is or are Iranian, I give here an alphabetic list of the names

that end in it. Rightly or wrongly I have included, for reasons which will presently become apparent, beside *-iz(z)a* also *-ezza*, *-yazza*, *-aēza*, *-āza*, and *-uz(z)a*. **Akkadatiza** (1) is suggestive of *\*āgata-hāda-* (cf. Av. *hāidišta-*, Ved. *sādha* "fulfilment") "successful" (formed like Sogd. (*n'-*)*yt-frn* "(un) lucky", *GMS* para. 1156), **Apmizza** (1) of OP *afuwā-* "belly" > "fear" (cf. Bailey, «BSOAS» 23 [1960], 14), **APPIŠTIZZA** of Av. *adbišta-* "nicht angefeindet" (see *Appišmanda* above), **HARMANIZZA** of NP *armān* (but see the separate entry above), **Harmeza** of OIr. *harva-* "all", **Harbezza** of *\*(h)arpa-* (see s.v. *Harbauka*), **Harriyazza** (1) and **Harrizza** (1) of *arya-*, **Ašbazza** (var. *-bezza*) of *aspa-*, **Hašizza** of OP *asa-* "horse" or *hašya-* "true", or of Av. *haši°* (see above, s.v. *Haššidadda*), **HIMMEZZA** (fem.) of Skt *śimān* "parting of the hair" or *\*śiva* "sewing" (?), **IRKEZZA** of Ved. *īk* (cf. *Irkamka* below), **Irtezza** of OP *īta-*, Av. *aša-*, **Irtuzza** of Av. *ratu-* (Ved. *ṛtū*, see s.v. *Irdumya*), **Iškarizza** (1) of Av. *skārayaṭ.raṭa-*, **Išbakazza** (1) of *\*spaka-* "dog" (cf. s.v. *Ušbaka* below), **Kambezza** (var. *-pi-*) of *\*gauba-* (cf. *Kampaka* and *Kampiya* below), **KAMĀZA**, **Kamez(z)a**, and **Kammizza** (1) of *kāma-* "desire", **Kanzaza** of *\*ganza-* "treasure", **Karkizza** of Av. *kahrka-* "cock" (cf. *Karkasa* and *Kurka* below), **Kurmizza** (1) of NP *kirm*, Ved. *kṛmi* "worm" **Kurrutezza** (1) of Khot. *uysgruta-* "torn open" (base *\*xru-*), **KARRIZZA** of *kīra-* or *xara-* (cf. below s.v. *Karāna*), **Kurizza** and (fem.) **Kurāza** (1) of *\*kura-* (see below, s.v. *Kurašiyatiš*), **Katezza** of *\*kāta-* "honour" (see below s.v. *Kadakara*), **Mintezza** (1) of *vinda-* (cf. *Minda* below), **Mannazza** (?) (1), **Manezza** (but on this see the separate entry below), and **Mannizza** (var. *-ani-*) of *m|van(y)a-*, **Mannuzza** (var. *-uza*) of Av. *vayhu-* (cf. *Irtaman-nuwiš* below; note, though, that *-nuz(z)a* may be a mere spelling variant of *-nizza*), **Marrezza** of Av. *vāra-* or *m|varya-*, **Mirizza** (1) of *vīra-*, **MASTEZZA** of Av. *masti-*, **Mastuza** (var. *-uzza*) of Man. MP *mstvobryy* (*\*maštu-*, *ṽmaz-*, cf. Henning, *Togan'a Arm.*, 435, Bailey, «BSOAS» 21, 522), **Mišpiza** (1) of *vispa-*, **Mešizza** of Av. *mašši-* "ewe" (cf. the Av. pr. n. *dawrāmaēši-*, Bailey, «JRS» 1934, 510, and see *Māšana* below), **MİŠŠEZZA** and **Mitezza** (1) of *\*mis|θa-* (see *Dadamišša* below), **-MU-TARMA-NIZZA** (?) of Av. (*hu-?*)*taurvan-*, **NABEZZA** and **Napizza** (discussed by Cameron, *PTT* 168) of Av. *nāfa-*/*nabā-*, *Narezza*

of Av. *nairya-* (differently B.; here also *NARIYĀZA*, q.v. below?), **Bakezza** (var. *-kiz[z]a*) of *baga-* (recognized by Cameron, *PTT* 117), **Puktezza** of *\*buxta-* "released" (see *Puktena* below), **Parmizza** (1) of *parv(y)a-* "first", **Pirmizza** (1) either also of *parv(y)a-*, or of *\*fraw(y)a-* (cf. *Pirmayabadda* below), **Parninaza** (1) of Av. *parnin-* "winged", **Parnizza** of *farnah-* (already quoted and identified by Cameron, *PTT* 91), **Basāza** (1) (but see the alternative suggestion under the separate entry below) and **BA-ŠIZZA** of OP *\*paθ|sā* "after" (cf. *Basak(k)a* below), **Pidaza** (?) (1) and **Pitezza** (var. *-itte-*) of *\*bīda-* "seed" (see *Pidabarma* below), **Putizza** of *puda-* (see *Puda* below), **Rauzazza** (var. *-zi-*) of Av. *raoča-* (cf. *Rauzakka* below), **SAKTIZZA** of *\*θaxta|i-* (Av. *saxta|i-*), **Sukizza** of Av. *sūka-*, **Sāmaezza** (1) of *\*θaiva-* "orphan" (cf. Parth., MP *sēwag*, etc., Henning, «JRS» 1946, 13, cf. *Šimaka* below), **Šakizza** (var. *-akki-*) of *\*saka-* "dog" (cf. *Išbakazza* in the present list, and see s.v. *Ušbaka* below), **Šut(t)ezza** of Av. *srūta-* (cf. s.v. *Šuddayauda* below), *Šiyatizza* of *šiyāta|i-* (quoted and identified by Cameron, *PTT* 93), **Darazza** (?) (1) and **Darizza** (apud B., who differs) of Av. *zara-* or Sogd. *z'ry*, **TURMIZZA** of *druwa-*, *Dat(t)ezza* (apud B.) of *dāta-* (see s.v. *Dadda*), **Tuzaza** (1) of *\*tišja-* (cf. Sogd. *twš-* "to pay"), **Ukbeza** (1) and **Upizza** of Av. *hubiš-* (see *Upiš* below), **Umezza** (1) and **Umizza** (1) of *\*haumya-* (see *Umi* below), **Uratezza** of Av. *urvād|z-* (see *Ratininda* below), *Yaumanizza* (1) (apud B.) of OP *yāumani-* (see Bailey, «JRS» 1951, 194), **Hiumizza** (+ vars.) of *yuvan-* "young" (cf. Skt *yuva-* as first compound-term), **Zaukizza** of *\*jahuka-* (see *Zauka* below), **Zinizza** (1) of Av. *činah-* (cf. *Irdaza|ina* and *Mitrizina* apud B., and *Zanuš* below), and **Ziššezza** (1) of OP *čiša-*. Even allowing for a large margin of error in the above identifications, the sheer number of names whose syllables preceding *-izza* and its variants have an Iranian appearance, makes it likely that *-izza* itself is Iranian. The suffix is probably *-ča-*. Its addition to stems in *-(i)ya-* gave rise to *-īča-* (see s.v. *Manyāškurra*, and compare OP *marika-* < *\*maryaka-* with *Harrizza* beside *Harriyazza* and [apud B.] *Hariya*), whose *i* was evidently apt to replace a thematic vowel not preceded by *-(i)y-* (cf. *Bake|izza*, *Ašba|ezza*, as against *Mannuzza*, *Mastuzza*, and *Irtuzza*), sometimes perhaps even to form a diphthong with it (cf. below s.v. *Manezza*; B. seems to have thought on

similar lines in the case of *Bake|izza* and *Dat(t)ezza*, for which he reconstructs “\**bagaiča*” and “\**dātaiča*”, although for *Darizza* he gives “\**dārayača*”). It is true that two names remain, **Kelizza** (1) and **Balizza** (1) / **Baliza** (?) (1), in which *-izza*, if it is a suffix, would seem to have been added to names which, because of their *l*, may be suspected of being foreign (although in the case of *Kelizza* one might fall back on Oss. *xīl*, Dig. *xela* “hair”; cf. in any case below, s.v. *Lakša*), so that the suffix might be thought to be non-Iranian even in names like *Bake|izza* and *Ašbezza*. But it would surely be more reasonable, on sheer statistical grounds, to infer from the sweeping extent of Iranian interpretability of the names listed above, that if *Kel* and *Bal* are foreign, then *-izza* is not the usual suffix, or no suffix at all, in the case of *Kelizza* and *Balizza*, as it evidently is not in *Zizza* (q.v. below), and perhaps not in all of the *-izza* names quoted above. Accordingly we may take it that the presence of *-izza*, or one of its variants, regularly entitles us to regard the syllables preceding it as belonging to an Iranian name or word, except when there is strong reason for suspecting them as foreign, in which cases *-izza*, too, will represent some non-Iranian sequence. It follows that the head-name of this paragraph, *Atpizza*, to which at long last we turn, is likely to be a hypocoristicon of an Iranian name which in El. would appear as \**Atpa*(š), \**Atpi*š, or \**Atpiya*(š), standing to its *-izza* extension either as *Puda* stands to *Putizza*, or as *Šiyatiš* (apud B.) to *Šiyatizza*, or as *Hariya* (apud B.) to *Harri(ya)zza*. One may then interpret *Atpizza* as representing OP \**āθpīča*- or \**āθfīča*-, the unextended form of the name being either \**āθpa*-, or \**āθpi*-, or \**āθfya*-. The last of these may seem the most probable, since it agrees with *āθwya*-, the Av. version, or rather inversion, of the Vedic *Trita*’s famous epithet *āptyá*. Yet, until proof to the contrary, it may be as well to take *Atpizza* for an *-izza* extension of El. \**Atpa*(š) = OP \**āθpa*-. For clearly, since in NP the name appears as *Ābtīn*, where the dental follows upon the labial as in Ved. *āptyá* but cannot very well represent an ancient spirant, OIr. not only had either order of consonants (so that both may have existed already in the Indo-Iranian period), but also maintained unextended thematic forms of the name, \**āθpa*- and \**āfta*-, or at least the latter. For only \**āfta*-, unless it be its patronymic \**āfti*-, will account for NP *Ābtīn*, provided

that its *b*, instead of which one expects *f*, was due to popular association, possibly inherited from hoary antiquity (see presently), of the name with the Indo-Ir. word for “water” (*āb* in NP; the suffix of *Ābtīn* is as in Arm. *Yazdēn*, NP *Yazdīn*, cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.* 55, Horn, *GIP* 1<sup>2</sup>, 181). One may therefore agree with Bartholomae that Ved. *āptyá* is not formed by means of a suffix *-tya*- (cf. Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup>, 700, by implication also Rönnow, *Trita Āptya*, pp. xxiii sq., and Lommel, *Der Árische Kriegsgott*, 60 n. 2), the *t* belonging to the stem as much as the *p*. Bartholomae’s etymological connexion of *āptyá* with Ved. *ātapá* is plausible, but so, one might think, would be one with Ved. *āpat*- “to rush on”. Unlike Rönnow I would argue that the absence of aquatic propensities from the characters called *Thrita* and *Āθwya* in the Avesta, preserves the original state of affairs, which remained undisturbed wherever the *tp* order of consonants precluded any association of the hero’s name with the word for “water”; but that in the Indo-Iranian milieu where the *pt* variant of the name was current, its bearer became secondarily involved in water exploits on account of its initial *āp*-, a faint memory of which exploits, unless it be merely a coincidental Volksetymologie, is responsible for the *b* of NP *Ābtīn*.

**Addarma** (var. **Attarruma**): \**adarma*- ~ Av. *a-zarəma*- “the undiminishing”.

**Haturma** (var. **Att**-): not, with B., to *Haturmaša*, but identical with either *Atsarma* (q.v.) or *Addarma*.

**Haturmaša** (1), according to B. = \**ātṛ-vāzah*-? But post-vocalic El. *ša* is not OP *za* (cf. *Bakeyaša*). Perhaps \**ātṛ-vasa*- “wanting fire”.

**HADARASDA**: \**hada-rāšta*- “equipped with truth”.

**ATRAŠDA**: \**āθrazda*- “known to, an intimate of, (the god) Fire”, to OP *azdā*. For El. *šd* cf. s.v. *Mašdadda*.

**HADDARADA** ~ Av. \**hada-rāza(h)*- “at one with the law”, cf. Av. *zaraθuštrəm hada.məθrəm*.

**HATURDA**: \**ātṛ-dāh*- “fire-giver”, or “fire-layer”.

**Atsarma** (var. **-sama**) and (?) **Haturma** (q.v.): \**aθarva*-, thematization, due to the nom. sg. \**aθarvā* (in Avestan *āθrava*), of the technical term for the priests called *ātharvan* in Vedic. In Av. the strong stem is *aθravan*-, the weak stem *aθaurun*- (i.e. \**aθarun*-). The “Vollform” *aθaurvan*- of *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 65, only represented an intelligent postulate of Bartholomae’s, which

is now as good as vindicated. The occurrence of this name at Persepolis, in a form that is clearly *not* Avestan, adds a new element of first-rate importance to the meagre data available on the religious situation in early Achaemenian western Iran. On the El. spelling *ts* of OP *θ* see s.v. *Radamesa*. The variant *Atsama* represents no more than the scribe's omission of the sign *ir*. Cf. *Makuš* below.

*ADDAD-DA-* (?) ~ Av. *āzāta-* (pr. n.) "free".

*Attehiya* (1) ~ Av. *haiθyō.aya-*, see s.v. *Attiya*.

*Attiya* (1), with its *-ka-* extension *Attiyakka*, is according to B. an "abrégé de v.p. *Āθiyābaušna* ou d'un nom semblable", and *Attihubadda* represents *\*āθi-hupāta-* "bien protégé de la frayeur". These are reconstructions I also considered, drawn to them by a name B. does not quote, *Attepūka* (1) which, as *\*āθiyābauga-*, seems close enough to the attested OP *āθiyābaušna-*. But one soon runs into difficulties, namely with *Attekama* (see above) and *Attiyauka* (see below), of which "desirous of fear" (or, with *\*gāma-*, "treading in fear") and "good to fear" would be only moderately convincing meanings. Fortunately an alternative is at hand, viz. OIr. *\*haθya-* "true, real", which in Av. appears as *haiθya-*, in Skt as *satyá* (meaning "truth" in the neuter), and in inscriptional OP as *hašya-* (possibly also attested above in *Haššidadda* and/or *Hašizza*). Certainly one of the *Atte* names, the *Attehiya* of the preceding entry, admirably suits the obscure Av. compound *haiθyō.aya-*, which may therefore be less "wertlos" than Bth. dubbed it. Accordingly, where names beginning with *Atte/i-* are concerned I have taken such cues as the second compound-term seemed to offer for deciding between *\*haθya-* and *\*āθi-/āθiyā-*, although I am well aware that these two words by no means exhaust the field of possibilities. The usual interpretation of the second *ā* of OP *āθiyābaušna-* as a preverb is to be distrusted; one may just as well take *āθiyā-* for an alternative stem to Av. *āθi-*, so that the OP name, and *Attepūka* above, would properly mean "he who brings about fear-release". For *Attiya(kka)* then, the head-name of the present entry, an interpretation as "true" may seem preferable to one as "fear(some)" even as a mere "abrégé".

*Attiyauka* (1): *\*haθya-va(h)u-ka-* "Truegood", formed like *Širauka* (q.v.). See s.v. *Attiya* and cf. *Attemanya*.

*Azakka*. Cameron's interpretation as *\*āzaka-* (PTT 91), doubted by Benveniste in «JA» 1958, 51, now finds support in the Sogd. pr. n. "z'kk, see V. A. Livšic, *Sogdiiskiye dokumenty s gory Mug*, II, p. 106.

*HIMMEZZA* (fem.), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*HINDAUKA* and (apud B.) *Hindukka*, see *Hintamukka*.

*Hintamukka* (var. *Hita-*) and (fem.) *Hintamukka* (1). On the likely assumption that this represents the same name as *HINDAUKA*, the second component will be *\*vahukā-*, cf. the *\*auka* of *Širauka*. And since beside *Širauka* we have *Širukka*, one may equate with *Hindauka* also *Hindukka* (+ vars.), rather than following B. in making the latter an "Indian" (see also below, s.v. *Hidukka*). As to the first component, there is no more choice than in the case of *Indapiza* (q.v.): it ought to represent a governing verbal present stem or participle *\*inda(t)-* "kindling". *\*Inda(t)-vahuka-* might mean "one who lights, gives radiance, to what is good", unless it refers more dramatically to "one who sets goods on fire, commits arson, an incendiary". Cf. *Mukka*

*Indapiza* (in PTT): *\*inda(t)-bīza-* "he who lights, sets on fire, seeds", viz. the seeds of the wild rue (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, I, 53). Cf. Ved. *indhate*, Parth. *pdyn-* "to kindle", and see *Hintamukka*. For *\*bīza-* see s.v. *Pidabarma*.

*Irkamka*: *\*ik-auga-* "verse-speaker", to Ved. *ik?* Cf. Khot. *āljs-* "to sing", Bailey, *Prolexis*, 18. For *-auga-* cf. Av. *bərəzyaogāt*. See *Irkezza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Irkanda*: *\*iganta-*, thematic extension of *\*igant-* "disgusting", ~ Av. *ərəyant-*. See *Rakanda*.

*Irkaša* (1): *\*ixša-* ~ the Av. archer *ərəxša-*.

*IRKEZZA*, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Irmama* (1): *\*arma-ama-* "having strength of arm"? Cf. *Ankumarma* and *Marmaka*.

*Iršena*. B. gives the Iranian form as *\*aršaina-*, without offering a translation. He refers to *Irtēna* "plus bas", where however no mention of this name is to be found. Clearly if the latter form represents the same name, as I also believe, its *t* stands for OP *θ*, so that the *š* of *Iršena*, although the value *š* cannot be excluded for it, is likely to represent *s*. In *Irtēna* at any rate,

with  $\theta < s$ , we would have the earliest attestation of the important  $s$  of NP *xirs* "bear", to be found also in Khwar. *hrs* (Henning, *Togan'a Armağan* 432). The relation between OIr. \**ṛša-* (Av. *arša-*, Sogd. \**ššh*) < IE \**ṛk̑-so-*, and \**ṛsa-* < IE \**ṛk̑-o-* is exactly as between Greek *ἄρκτος* and *ἄρκος*. The Greco-Iranian parallelism, the recognition of which is due to Hübschmann's perspicacity, should never have been lost sight of: Boisacq presents the Greek situation correctly, Hjalmar Frisk has it wrong again. I may report in passing that nowhere in Baškardia did I hear the form "hirsh" (presumably an anglicized spelling of \**hōrš*) quoted by Floyer (cf. Morgenstierne, «AcOr» 20 [1948], 254), but only NBš (= NP) *xers* and SBš *hors*. I am nevertheless disinclined to dismiss Floyer's form as a mishearing, and it can hardly be a misprint. As to the suffix of *Irš|tena*, this is not -*aina-* as Benveniste has it, but -*āyana-*. *Irtēna* represents \**ṛθāyana-*, *Iršēna* either \**ṛsāyana-* or \**ṛšāyana-*, patron. of \**ṛθa-* and either \**ṛsa-* or \**ṛša-*, as *Ašbēna* is of *aspa-*. Cf. *Irtāšra*.

*Irištīmanka*, see *Ištīmanka*.

*IRIŠDAUPIRNA*: \**ṛštā(t)-(h)ufarna(h)-* "having the good blessing of Justice", cf. Av. *arštāt-*, *AHM* 286. For *hu-* forming part of second compound-terms cf. *Attihubadda* (s.v. *Attiya*), *I(ri)štīmanka*, and *Irdaumamakka*.

*Irdakantiš*: \**ṛta-kānti-* "consumed by a desire for Aša", cf. Skt *kānti* and see *Kantarturra*.

*IRDUKBA* ~ RV *ṛtu-pā* "drinking the libation at the right time", a remarkable Indo-Iranian fossil, and one of the very few traces, as well as the earliest (along with *Pirrumanba* and *Zamanba*), of the IE "drinking" base in Iranian, cf. Mayrhofer, II, 252; it is probably in imitation of this compound that the name *Zamanba* (q.v.) was coined. See s.v. *Irdunuya*.

*Irdakšara* (var. -*tuk-*), cf. *Ἀγοξάρεος* (apud B.), should mean "deriving strength, valour, from Aša", cf. Oss. *æxsar* "strength, daring, courage, valour" (also n. pr.). See *Ramakšara*. As a verb, \**xšar-* can be seen in Khot. *ššarr-* "to triumph", cf. Bailey, *Prolexis*, 350.

*Irdakkāya* (quoted by B. as *Irdakkaya*) should mean "sharing with Truth, Truth's partner", see «CAJ», 7 (1962), 91, and cf. *Bakakeya*.

*IRDAUMAMAKKA*: \**ṛta-hu-ava-ka-* "receiving good help

from Truth". For internal *hu* cf. s.v. *Irišdaupirna*. See *Mamakka*.

*Irtammannuwiš*: not \**ṛtam-manuwi-* as B. querying offers, but ~ Av. *ašāvaṇhu-* (n. pr.), the nazalized variant of *Irda(u)wiš* (q.v.). This was the name which first suggested to me that. El. *n* before *u* might sometimes stand for Ir. *yh*, but I dared not rely on it until the identification proposed below for *Mamannuwiš* occurred to me. What troubled me with *Irtammannuwiš* was that the Av. pr. n. *ātorvānuš-*, "das Feuer (*Ātar*) liebend" according to Bth., and the fact that the adj. *vānuš* actually governs the gen. *ṛtāsyā* in RV IV 44.3, seemed to conspire to provide adequate justification for reconstructing a name \**ṛtā-vānuš-* "he who loves Truth". On the other hand as a matter of principle the attested deserves preference over the unattested, as should a fortiori, where *Mamannuwiš* is concerned, attested praise over unattested stricture. Moreover, having come to regard *ātorvānuš-* as a nuisance, I began to look for means to silence it. No other compound with *vānuš-*, nor indeed *vānuš-* by itself, is attested in Iranian, and none in the RV; the formation of *vānuš* is of a type rare even in Vedic (see Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup> 490 (c)); Av. *ātorvānuš-*, which Bth. set up as an -*uš-* stem solely in order to link it with Ved. *vānuš*, behaves at its one occurrence like an -*u-* stem; there is no phonetic objection to deriving a YAv. -*u-* stem *ātorvānu-* from proto-Ir. \**ātṛ-bānu-*, whose *ṛta-* counterpart is now attested for OIr. through *Irdabanuš* (see below s.v. *Manuš*); and a meaning "having the splendour of fire" would seem to make no less plausible a name than "loving fire". My other candidates for *vāṇhu-* are *Turdumannuš*, *Medumannuš*, *Dakamannuš*, and possibly *Manuš*. Of these the first is the strongest, but even it suffers of the ambiguity explained s.v. *Manuš*. As -*i-* stems one might reconstruct for the first two \**d̥i-da-vāni-* and \**vāida(h)-vāni-*, and treat these as patronymics of *vāna-*, hence "heart-winner" and "winner of possessions". Fortunately we have assured *u-* stems in *Irtammannuwiš* and *Mamannuwiš*, and *yh* is recognizable also in *anka* (see *Yašnamanka*, *Narišanka*, *Ištīmanka*), *manya* (see *Dadumanya*, *Bakumanya*, *Manyaškurra*, *Ammumanya*, *Attemanya*, and the El. rendering of OP *patiyāvahyai*) and the lone *Zimardanra*. [On *Medumannuš* see now p. 169 n. 2].

*IRDAMANTURRA*: \**ṛta-manθra-* "knowing the magic word of Truth". Cf. *Manšakka*.

**IRTAMMI-N-TAŠ** (?): \**ṛtā-vinda-* "Truth-finder", cf. OP *Vi(n)da(t)-farnah-* and see *Minda*.

**Irtambama**, see *Irdubama*.

**Irdamassana** (1): not \**ṛta-vaθana-*? (with B.), but \**vaθāna-*, patron. of \**vaθa-* "he who desires Truth". Cf. *Irdāša*.

**Irdamišša** (+ vars.) = \**ṛta-misa-* (apud B.) should mean "he whose thought dwells on Truth", cf. *Dadamišša*.

**Irdumatra** (1): not \**ṛta-manθra-*? or \**marθra-*? (with B.), but \**ṛta-(h)wāθra-* ~ Av. *aša.x<sup>o</sup>āθra-* "he in whom Truth breathes freely, feels comfortable", cf. *AHM* 291.

**Irdamiyašda** (1): hardly \**ṛta-myašda-* avec av. *myazda-* "banquet rituel", but perhaps \**vyāšda-* "observing Truth", cf. Av. *vyāšda-* and Khot. *āysda-* («*BiOr*» 15 [1958], 263).

**Irtēna**, see *Iršēna*.

**Irdunara** strongly suggests that Bth.'s interpretation, however well argued, of Av. *ašahunara-* (an epithet of Miθra's, occurring only once) as standing for \**aš-hunara-* was wrong. The El. spelling is best interpreted as representing \**ṛta-(h)unara-* "well versed in Truth", an epithet that would suit both Miθra and some of the more earnestly committed among the human *ašavan-s*.

**Irdunuya** (1) (fem.): \**ṛtu-nayā-* "laywoman", fem. to Av. *ratu-naya-*. The unequivocal expression of the *r*-vowel in El., here and in *Irdukba* (cf. also *Irtuzza* s.v. *Atpizza*), as against *ra-* in Av. (and possibly in *Radupir* below), is of the greatest interest<sup>1</sup>. Cf. s.v. *Rakanda*, and see *Umuyakka*.

**IRDABAMA**. This, and not *Irdubama* as B. thinks, is the masc. corresponding to the fem. *Irdabama* (var. *-tabb-*) which he quotes. For the meaning of \**ṛta-bāma-* (not \**pāva-*) see *Bakakbama*.

**Irdubama**: not masc. to *Irdabama* as B. suggests, but the same name as occurs in the list under the spelling *Irtambama*, viz. \**ṛta-upāhva-* "he whose preoccupation is Truth". See s. vv. *Harbawukbama* and *Bakukbama*.

<sup>1</sup> Rüdiger Schmitt, «*Or*» 32 (1963), 444, wanted to find \**ṛtu-* in OP *artā(čā)*, El. *irdaha(zi)*, in the Daiva inscription. But his "nirgends belegte" *u*-stem loc. ending *-ā* would have commended itself more strongly if the dental preceding it had been *θ*. Cf. OP *gāθavā* and *xradum*. There is no need to separate *artāčā* from *ṛta-*.

**IRDAPARNA**: the same as *Irdapirna* (apud B.).

*Irdapirzana*, see s.v. *Šandupirzana*.

**IRDURTIYA**: the same as *Irdumartiya* (apud B.).

**Irdāša** (1): not "abrégé" of *Irdāšiyatiš* (thus B.), but \**ṛtaiša-*, thematic extension of what in Av. appears as *ašō.iš-* "Truth-seeker". Cf. *Irteštiya* and *Irdamassana*.

**Irdawiš** (var. *-dauw-*) = \**ṛta-vahu-*? (thus B.). Delete the question mark after changing to \**ṛtā-vahu-* (with *ā* as in Av. *ašāvayhu-* and RV *ṛtāvasu*), and cf. *Irtammannuwīš*. The El. spelling *-a(u)wiš* is as in *Dariyawīš* and *Ziššawīš* (q.v.). For the meaning of the compound see *Bakumanya*.

**Irtāšra** (1): \**ṛθa-azra-* "bear-hunter"? Cf. *Iršēna* and Av. *azrō.dadi-*. For *šr* representing *zr* cf. *Akšimašra* and see s.v. *Mašdadda*.

**Irtāšduna**: "nom masculin et féminin; en cette dernière qualité il est identique à *Ἀρτυστόνη*, nom de la femme de Darius". It was B. himself who many years ago interpreted *Ἀρτυστόνη* as \**ṛdva-fštāni-* "aux seins dressés" («*TPhS*» 1945, 67). This explanation accounted satisfactorily for the upsilon of the Greek form, but not so well for its omega and first tau; it is, at all events, inapplicable to the nom masculin. We may therefore interpret El. *Irtāšduna* as representing OP \**ṛta-stūnā-* "pillar of Truth", adapted to *ἀρτώ* by a Greek wit who, combining *stūna-* with *στωά*, found in the name a "column-aligner".

**Irteštiya** (1): thematic extension of \**ṛta-išti-* "whose striving is for Truth", to *Irdāša* (q.v.).

**IRDADDA**: \**ṛdata-* "the silvery", see below s.v. *Rakanda*.

**Irtēzza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Irtuzza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Iškumipanna**: \**xšwaibāna-*, patronymic of \**xšwaiba-* "the darting one", to Av. *xšvaēwa-*.

**Iškamtakka** (1): \**skauθaka-* "the poor one", to OP *skauθi-*, cf. *GMS* para. 366. Cf. *Akkamka*.

**Iškarizza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**HIŠMAPIRSU** (fem.): \**hišva(t)-pṛθū-* "compressing her flanks", an epithet on the lines of Av. *urvizō.maiḍya-* (see Henning, *Sogdica*, 34 n. 4)? The second component would correspond to Av. *parasu-*, NP *pahlū*, the first to Ved. *susv-* except in respect



of the reduplication vowel, for which cf. Bth.'s conjecture s.v. Av. *hiš.x<sup>o</sup>istō*. See *Piršuš*.

*IŠBA*: \**spā* "dog", cf. *Šarukba* and see s.v. *Ušbaka*.

**Išbakatukka**: \**spaka-tauka*- "dog-offspring", or outright \**spakā-tauka*- "son of a bitch". See *Nappatamka*, *Ušbaka*, and, for *u* representing Ir. *au*, *Udusana* and *Mukka*.

**Išbakazza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*IŠBANKA* corresponds to Av. *spəngha-* (n. pr.).

*Išbaramištima* (+ vars.), quoted, but not explained, by B., represents \**spara-vistama-*, superlative of \**spara-vid-* "shield-piercer" (cf. Av. *parō.kavid-*: *para.kavistama-*), to NP *sipar* and Skt *vidh*, *vyadh*. Cf. *Išbarašduma*.

*IŠBARAŠDUMA*: \**sparastama-*, allegro-form of the pentasyllabic \**sparavistama-* (see *Išbaramištima*).

*Ištīmanka* (var. *Iriš-*). If these spellings really render the name which in Herodotus appears as Ἀστυάγης (as B., following Cameron, believes), then Gr. -αγη- should reproduce Ir. -aha-, and El. -anka Ir. -ayha-, cf. *Narišanka* and *Yašnamanka*. An OP form \**ṛšti-va(y)ha-* would account for the Greek and El. spellings, but no base *vah-* is known with a suitable meaning. If an s-aorist of *van-* "to throw" (Av. \**vah-*) were involved, one would expect to find \*Ἀστυάγης in Greek. One may therefore consider reconstructing an Ir. form \**ṛšti-(h)u-a(y)ha-* "good thrower of spears", with reference to Av. *hvašta-* "well thrown" on the one hand, and *Attihubadda* and *Irišdaupirna* (q.v.) on the other. But it should be borne in mind that *I(ri)štīmanka* may be a mere synonym of Astyages' name, of which, in view of the Akkadian spelling *Ištumēgu* and Ktesias' Ἀστυάγης, Herzfeld's reconstruction \**ṛšti-vaiga-* has much to commend itself. That reconstruction is of course incompatible with the El. spelling *manka*.

*Hištīmauwiš* (1) does not represent a fem. \**išti-vahvī-* as B. reconstructs, but a masc. *vahu-*, the ending being as in *Dariyawiš* (cf. s.v. *Ziššawiš*).

<sup>1</sup> For Gr. γ rendering a foreign h Sir Harold Bailey kindly refers me to *Piḥa-* in Luwian names, written Πῑα- in Greek script, see E. Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite*, 32, 146, and « RHA » 13 (1955) 98.

*Ištibara* (1), taken by B. at its face value, conceivably represents \**ṛšti-bara-* (OP *arštibara-*) "spear-bearer", in view of the variant *Irišti<sup>o</sup>* of *Ištīmanka*.

*Hidukka* and *Hiduš* (1), making a total of at least three occurrences of *Hid<sup>o</sup>*, are unlikely to be mere variants of *Hindukka* (q.v.) as B. (possibly influenced by the variant *Hita<sup>o</sup>* of *Hintamukka*) believes. Perhaps = \**hidu(ka)-* "the talkative", lit. "the tongue" (or retrenched name), to Av. *hizū-*, in which case cf. *Kamša*.

*HIZIKARA*: \**hičči-kara-* "hiccupper"?

**Izrudukma** (1): \**zrū-tauxma-* "born of Zrvan's seed", a name that will arouse the interest of Zervanologists.

**Kakka**: \**kāhaka-*, retrenched from *Ukakka* (q.v.) or sim.

**Kelizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza* (after the list given there).

**Kamena** (var. -*māna*) may be an -*āyana-* patronymic of \**gav(a)-* or \**kāma-*. Not much reliance should therefore be placed on its resemblance to the Av. pr. n. *gavayan-*, the less so as the inferences one might draw from their identity could be far-reaching. For the Av. name, attested only in the gen. sg. *gav-ayānō*, lends itself to an alternative explanation to the one proposed by Bth. (\**gavaya-* "buffalo" + possessive suffix -*an-*, on which see Karl Hoffmann, « MSS » 6 [1955], 35 sqq.): if the name meant "born on the day of the cow" (the 14th of the month), the gen. *ānō*, instead of expected *an = ān*, might have been prompted by awareness that possessive inflection of the stem would more adequately reflect the possessive nature of the compound than the plain gen. of *ayan-* [ayer- "day". If then *Kamena* were the same name, thematically extended, its occurrence in the Fortification tablets would confirm what I argued in « JNES » 23 (1964), 21 sq., on the strength merely of the month of "the Creator" occupying the tenth place in the so-called "Zoroastrian" calendar, viz. that the names of that calendar, or at least some of them, had been in use long before it was reformed and officially promoted to civil use in the year 441. Be this as it may, I am now tempted to interpret the Nisa Parthian name of the 14th day, *gwyrh*, as representing OIr. \**gav-ayar-* "cow-day", in preference to the purely graphic explanation advanced by D'jakonov and Livšic in *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik*, II, 1966, 156 sq., 173.

**Kamnakka** (1): in B.'s opinion to *kamna-* "few"; I would prefer an identification as *\*gaunaka-* "the hairy" (on his body).

**KUMANDA**: *\*gaumanta-*, thematic extension of the pr. n. which in Av. appears as *gaomant-*. See s.v. *Bakunda*.

**Kampaka** (1): *\*gaubaka-* "speaker" (cf. s.v. *Kampiya*), or *\*gau-pāka-* "cow-herd". See *Kambana*.

**KAMPUMANDA** represents the same name as *Kampunda*, viz. *\*gau-pāvanta-* "cattle-protector", see s. vv. *Ukpunda* and *Bakunda*.

**Kambana**: either *\*gau-pāna-* (as either "cow-herd", or patronymic of *\*gau-pā-* "cow-herd"), or *\*gaubāna-*, patronymic of a retrenched name *\*gauba-* (cf. *Kampiya*). See *Kampaka*.

**Kampunda** (1), see *Kampumanda*.

**Kampirrada** (1): *\*gau-frāda-* "furthering cattle". Cf. *Pirda-kamiya*.

*Kampiya*: perhaps *\*gaubiya-*, to OP *gaub-* "to speak", cf. s.v. *Karbattiya*, and see *Kampaka* and *Kambana*. Differently B.

**Kambezza** (var. *-pi-*), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Kamraka** (1): *\*gaura-ka-*, to NP *gōr* "wild ass".

**Kamirsa** (var. *-mar-*): *\*gāvarθa-* "millet", cf. NP *gāvars(a)*, Sogd. *γwrs'tny* (Henning, «BSOAS» 11 [1946], 724) = *\*γwrs-s'tny* (?), Khot. *gau'sā* (Bailey, *KT*, IV, 171), Pašto *γošt* (Morgenstierne, «TPHS» 1948, 72), etc.

**Kamša** (1): *\*gauša-*, either simply as "ear" (cf. *Hidukka*, *Hiduš*) for "informer", cf. Bailey, «TPHS» 1956, 110 with n., or a retrenched name. See *Kamšana*.

**Kamšana** (1): *\*gaušana-*, patronymic of *Kamša*.

**KAMŠABA**: *\*gau-šaba-* "he who assembles cattle" (cf. *Kamšabana*), inversion of *Abbakama* (q.v.). See s.v. *Abbatašba*, and cf. *Habba*, *Abbakka*, *Abauka*, and *Uššaba*.

**Kamšabana** (1): *\*gau-šabāna-*, patronymic of *Kamšaba* (q.v.)

**Kamišdana**: *\*gavištāna-*, patronymic to Skt *gaviṣṭha*.

*Kammada*, which B. identifies with Av. *Kavāta-*, recalls the El. spelling *kam-ma-ad-da* of Gaumāta's name in the Behistun inscription.

**KAMTIKA**: *\*gaudika-* "little milkpot"? Cf. Av. *gao-di-* and, for the image, *Baduzarma* below.

**Kammadamma** (1): *\*kāma-ta(x)ma-* "strong at will"?

**Kamtena** (1): *\*gau-dāyāna-*, patronymic of *\*gau-dāya-*, thematized equivalent of Av. *gaodāyah-* "he who fosters cows".

**Kamiya** and **KAMUYA**: *\*gavya-* ~ Av. *gaoya-* "bulbus".

**KAMĀZA**, **Kamez(z)a**, and **Kammiza** (1): see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Kammazikara** (1): *\*kāma-jiḡāra-* (or *\*jagāra-*) "arousing (lit. waking up) desire". Cf. *Zakarna*.

**KENAKKA**: *-ka-* extension of *\*gayāna-* "Adamson", patronymic of the Av. name of the First Man, *gaya-*, lit. "life". In juxtaposition with his usual Av. epithet, *maratan-*, "human" (whence the First Man's Middle Persian name *Gēhmurd*, cf. Henning, *Mittelir. Manich.*, I, 197 n. 2), the name seems to survive to the present day in that of the village *Gimord*, on the northern fringes of Bashkardia (see «Journ. of the Royal Centr. As. Soc.» 46 [1959], p. 216, No. 47).

**Kunda** ~ Av. *kunda-*, name of a daēva; cf. also Arm. *Kund Aramazd*, Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.* 25.

**Kindabada** (?) (1): *\*xinda-pāda-* "weary-footed", to Skt *khi(n)dati*. Cf. *Tindabada*.

**Kanturma** (1) ~ Av. *gandrōwa-* (pr. n.), cf. ŠY *žindīrv* (Bailey, «BSOS» 8, 1157), *Kndrw* in the Šāh Nāme (I, 55.405; cf. Darmesteter, *ZA*, II, 376 sq., n. 50), and Syr. *Gwnrp* (Henning, *Zoroaster*, 51 n. 3). The Sogd. *wp'pyntrow* and Av. *gandarōwō upāpō* invites the interpretation given below of *Ubabana*.

**KANTARTURRA**: *\*kānta-ardra-* "loyal towards the loved ones", to Skt *kānta* and Av. *arōdra-*. Cf. *Irdakantiš*.

**Kanzaza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Kabba**: *\*kapa-* "fish" (to Sogd. *kp-*, etc., cf. Bailey, «TPHS» 1945, 22). See *Kabašakka* and cf. the ethnic speculations s.v. *Mizapirzaka*.

**KAUBARA**: *\*gau-bara-* "cattle-raiser".

**Kapura** (1) if = *\*kafra-*, and **Kapriya** (1) if = *\*kafrya-* may both belong to NP *kahra* "kid", which Henning used to relate to Lat. *capra*.

**Kappirruš** (var. **Kapruš**): *\*gafru-* "deep" (perhaps as retrenched name)? Such a stem might have arisen from a contamination of what in Av. appears as *jafra-* "deep", *gufra-* "deep", and *jafru-* "valley (<depth)". Cf. *Zappirna*?

**Kapriya** (1), see s.v. *Kapura*.

**Kabašakka** (1) possibly contains OP *\*saka-* "dog", cf. s.v. *Ušbaka*. Hence "dogfish"? See *Kabba* and cf. s.v. *Mizapirzaka*.

*Kabaudana* (1), see s.v. *Māšana*.

**Kaputtiš**, see s.v. *Māšana*.

**Kabezada** (1): *\*gafya-zāta-*, cf. the Av. pr. nn. *aēvō.gafya-* and *ašti.gafya-*?

*Kurka*: hardly "the Carian" (cf. Cameron, *PTT*, 143), since he is a Magus in the Fortification tablet quoted in *PTT*, 7 n. 34 (cf. also n. 36, and see Hallock, « JNES », 9 [1950], 240). More likely = *\*karka-* ~ Av. *kahrka-* "cock". See *Karkizza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**KARKASA**: *\*karkāθa-* "vulture", the "palatal theta" version of *Karkašša* (+ vars.) ~ Av. *kahrkāša-* (apud B.).

**Karkizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Karma**: *\*karva-* (Av. *kaurva-*) "the bald" (see Henning, « BSOS » 10, 96). Cf. *Karmakka* and *Hamarša*.

**KARMAKKA** and **Karmuka** (1): *\*karvaka-*, diminutive of *Karma*.

**KARRAMANA**: *\*kāravāna-* "caravan-man", cf. Arm. *karan*, *kareuan*, see Bailey, « BSOS » 7 (1933), 76 sq.

**KARMANA**: *\*karvāna-*, patronymic of *Karma* (q.v.), or *\*karmāna-* "the Carmanian".

**Kurmizza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Karāna**: *\*k|g|xūrāyana-*, patronymic of *\*kūra-* ("army, people", or "deed", or "doer"), *\*gara-* ("praiser"), or *\*xara-* ("donkey"; cf. *Ašbena* above). Cf. *Karrizza* s. v. *Atpizza*.

**Karina** (var. **Karr-**) and (fem.) **Karina** (1): *\*garinī-* "of mountain stock", to av. *gari-* "mountain".

**Kurrabada** (1): *\*kura-pada-* "belonging to the family-stock"; cf. *Kurašiyatiš* on *\*kura-* "family", and « CAJ » 7 (1962), 86 with n. 27<sup>a</sup> on *\*pada-* "kin, genus". Cf. *Marriyabaddana*.

*Karbattiya* (1): *\*garbaθya-* "one who habitually grabs, or understands (cf. the meaning of Sogd. γρβ-)", formed like *kambatiya* = *\*gaubaθya-* (but see Hallock, « JNES » 19 [1960], 97), and *xšāyaθya-* (see Henning, *AM*, II, 1951, 144). Differently B.

**Karāšna** ~ Av. *karsna-* (n. pr.).

**Kurišna**: *\*kṛšna-* ~ Ved. *kṛṣṇá* "black, dark", cf. the Av. surname *karšnaz-*.

**Kuršibana** (?) (1) is oddly reminiscent of Hurrian *gur-zi-pa-a-an*, discussed by Bailey, *Donum Nyberg*, 12.

*Kurašiyatiš* (1) and *Kuraššara* (1). Rather than OP *kāra-* (thus B.) one may here recognize *\*kura-* "family", to Sogd. *wk'wr* "gens" and Oss. *igurun* "γίγνομαι" (see « BSOAS » 14 [1952], 493 sq.); the base has been equated by H. W. Bailey with that of Ved. *kūla*, cf. Mayrhofer s.v., with which OP *\*kura-* would thus be identical. See *Kurizza* s.v. *Atpizza*, and *Kurrabada*.

**Karutka** (?) (1): *\*garu-aθka-* "wearing a heavy coat"; cf. Av. *snāvidka-* (pr. n.) "wearing a coat made of sinews" (*\*snāvi-aθka-*) according to Henning.

**Kurtiyama** (1): *\*kṛti-yāhma-* "whose dress is a shirt"; cf. Av. *korati-* "shirt, or sim." (Bailey, *Zor. Prob.* 8 n. 2), and NP *jāma* "dress".

**Kurrutezza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**KARRIZZA**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Kurāza** (1) (fem.) and **Kurizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Kasakka** (1): *\*kāθaka-*, the palatal theta version of OP *kāsaka-* "lapis lazuli (Herzfeld)".

**Kāšrubā** (1) is surely the same name as **Katurrubba** (1), together with which it provides the earliest attestation of the word for "amber", NP *kāšrubā* (on which cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 521 sq.). The NP ending *-ā* < *-ā-kā-* shows that the OP word for amber, *\*kās/θ-rupā-*, was fem., but it would naturally pass into the *a*-stem declension when used as a masc. name. If the popular etymology of the word as "tire-paille" is correct, the OP word for "straw" must have been an unthematic stem, *\*kās-/kāθ-*.

**Kadauka**, see *Katamka*.

*Katuk(k)a*: either to Av. *katu-* (pr. n.), as B. suggested in « JA » 1958, 52, or, as *\*kaθuka-*, to Av. *kasu-* "small".

**Kadakara** (1): *\*kāta-kara-* "Ehrenreweiser", cf. Oss. *kūdē*, v. Abayev s.v. The retrenched form is seen in the Av. pr. n. *kāta-*. Cf. *Katezza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Katamka** (1) and **Kadauka** *\*ka-tauka-* "what an offspring", formed like Av. *kax<sup>a</sup>areða-*, but perhaps as an expression of admiration rather than exasperation. For *\*tauka-* see s.v. *Nappatamka*. Of course *\*kātī-vahu-ka-* "of good honour" (cf. s.v. *Ziššawiš*) is also possible.

**Katurrubba** (1), see *Kašrubā*.

**Ketuš** (1): \**gaiθu-* ~ Av. *gaēsu-* "the curly".

**KEDAŠTIS**: Av. *gayadāsti-* (pr. n.), a Mithraic name, cf. Bth. s.v. and *AHM*, 43.

**Katezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Kazza** and its *-ka-* extension **Kazaka**: \**gaza(ka)-* "tamarisk-tree", the ancestor of NP *gaz*. Thus, rather than to NP *gazādan* "to bite" or Khot. *khāysa-* "food".

**Lakša** (1). This is one of the names beginning with *l* which one would hesitate to throw out as non-Iranian. The same is true of **Labba** (1), **Limepirda** (1), and perhaps a few others. Indo-Europeanists addicted to salmon-fishing may be interested in *Lakša*, but should bear in mind Mayrhofer's article in «ZDMG» 105 (1955), 175 sqq. In the present list only three more names containing *l* are mentioned, *Kelizza* and *Balizza*, quoted s.v. *Atpizza*, and *Mirinzali*.

**Māka** (1): \**vaiga-* or \**hu-vaiga-* "swinging, brandishing (well)".

**Mukka** (?) (1) (fem.): \**vahukā-* "the goodly", so written, perhaps, to distinguish it from *Mawukka*/*Mauka* = *vahauka-* (apud B.). Cf. *Mamukka*, *Hintamukka*, *Ammukka*, and, for *u* = *au*, *Išbakatukka*, *Šaddukka*, *Hupuda*, *Udusana*.

**Makama** ~ Av. *mayava-* "bachelor", unless it is, less interestingly, = \**hva-kāma-* "acting according to his own wish, self-willed, self-pleasing".

**MAKRUŠBA** shares its consonants, but not the vowels, with *Mikrašba* (var. *-kurra-*) = \**vigra-aspa-* "having vigorous (Ved. *vigra-*) horses" (apud B.). The name looks like a compound of \**vaxra-* "crooked" (to Ved. *vakrā-*) and a word denoting perhaps a part of the body and consisting of initial (*h*)*u*, (*h*)*au*, or (*h*)*a(h)u* followed by *spa*, *špa*, or *zba*, *žba*. May one conceive of a dialectal \**huzbā-* "tongue" (cf. Pahl. *uzwān*), to be added to the alternation already familiar of *hi°* (av. *hizvā-*), *hə°* (OP *hasan-*), and *vi°* (Khot. *bišā*)? Hence \**vaxra-huzba-* (on El. *š* see s.v. *Mašdaddā*) "having a (metaphorically) crooked tongue"?

**Makuš**: *magu-* "Magus". Cf. *Atsarma*.

**Mamakka**: *-ka-* extension of \**hu-ava-* "the helpful", thematization of what in Ved. is *su-avas* (*svāvas*). See *Irdaumamakka*.

**Mamukka** (1) (fem.): \**(h)vā-vahu-kā-*, unnazalized and *ka-* extended variant of *Mamannuwiš* (q.v.). Cf. *Mukka*.

**Mamakurra** (1): \**vahma-gara-* "Preislober".

**Mamnak(k)a**: \**x<sup>a</sup>amnaka-* "the sleepy", the assimilation of *fn* to *mn* attested in MP *xwmn* (see Henning, «ZII» 9 [1933], 220) having taken place already in the sixth cent. B.C.? Alternatively "the bloody" (\**va(h)una-ka-*, cf. *Harriumuna*)?

**Mamannuwiš** \**(h)vā-vayhu-* ~ *svāvasu* RV V 44.7 (and only there) "er, der alles Gute zu eigen hat" (Geldner). Cf. *Mamukka*.

*Man(n)anda*, occurring also in Treasury tablets and at Susa (see *PTT* 135). If the name is Iranian the obvious reconstruction will be \**vanant-a-*, thematic extension of Av. *vanant-* "victorious" (also name of Vega), cf. Bactr. *oavvdo*.

**Mannunda** (+ vars.) looks like a thematic extension (see s.v. *Bakunda*) of \**manavant-*, on which see *AHM* 223 sq.

**MANBAKA**: \**vahan-pāka-* "protecting him who is good", to Av. *vayhan-* "good".

*Manuš*, which according to B. is to be equated with Av. *manu-* (recte *manuš-*), may just as well represent the nazalized form of *vahu-* "good", corresponding to Av. *vayhu-*. Of course with all names ending in El. *°nuš* (as against *°nuwiš*, e.g. *Ma-mannuwiš*) one is faced with the need to choose between Ir. *°nu-* (e.g. *Irdabanuš* apud B.; cf. inscr. Parth. *ʾrtbnw*) and *°ni-* (e.g. *Unabanuš* below). See s.v. *Irtammannuwiš*.

**Manšak(k)a**: \**manšaka-*, *-ka-* extension of the OP equivalent of Av. *mąθra-*, fascinatingly displaying the well-known change of proto-Ir. *θr* to *š* in circumstances where one might well have hesitated to predict it (cf. NP *tār* "dark" < *tąθra-*). The unchanged OIr. form of the word appears in *Irdamanturra* (q.v.). \**Manša-*, properly "holy word, magic word", was probably a name retrenched from \**manša-kara-* "soothsayer, sorcerer" (cf. Sogd. *mārkarē*, etc., Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 93), or sim.

**Minda** (1): \**vinda-*, retrenched from *Vindafarnah-* etc. Cf. *Mintezza* s.v. *Atpizza*, *Minduka*, and *Irtammintaš*.

**Minduka** (var. *-tukka*): \**vinda(t)-vahu-ka* "finding, acquiring, goods", cf. *Dāraya(t)-vahu-*. For *°uka* see s. vv. *Hintamukka* and *Širauka*. Cf. *Minda*.

*Mantarra* (var. *-sara*). Surely if the name of one and the same man is spelled in either way, there can be no question of "le premier nom en tout cas" reproducing Av. *vandara-* (thus B.). If *-ara-* could be added to *vand-*, why not also to *\*manθ-* "to stir, agitate" (a base discussed by B. himself in *Études sur la langue ossète*, 88)? *\*Manθara-* would then mean "trouble-maker, agitator, provocateur", or sim. Cf. the next name.

*Mantašturra*, left unexplained by B., may represent *\*man-θa(t)-āstra-* "whip-shaker". Cf. *Mantarra* on the one hand, *Aššašturrana* on the other.

**Mintezza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Mannuya** and (fem.) *MANNUYA*: *\*manyā-*, to Av. *mainya-* "authoritative", cf. *AHM*, 224.

*Manyaparra*. B. hesitates, without translating, between *\*manya-bāra-* and *\*manya-pāra-*. The choice is made easy by the survival of the former compound as *myn'bry* "plenipotentiary" in Sogdian, and as *mīnævar* "ambassador, envoy" in Ossetic, cf. Henning, «BSOAS» 12 (1948), 309 n.

*Manyāškurra* (1). Neither B.'s *\*manyas-kara-* nor his *\*vanyas-k°* have likely first components. This again seems a good example of nazalization of *h*. The El. spelling *Miš(i)dad(d)a*, corresponding to the OP pr. n. *Vahyazdāta-* of the Beh. inscription, renders a demotic pronunciation *\*Va(h)īzdāta-* (cf. OP *marika-* < *\*maryaka-*, and see *Akšimašra*, *Harriwukka*, *Umi*; for El. *i* rendering *a(h)i* cf. *Rimadadda* = *\*raiva-dāta-* apud B.). By contrast, *Manyāškurra* may represent *\*vaḥyas-kara-* "he who does what is better", with a dialectal nazalization of *\*vaḥyas°* parallel to the one attested in Av. *vahyazdāh-* "he who gives what is better", while in *Mādada* and *Māzana* (qq. v.) neither contraction nor nazalization took place. See *Miškarra*.

**Mannazza** (?) (1) and **Mannizza** (var. *-ani-*), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Manezza** suggests *\*manaiča-*, which form would account for Arm. *Manēč*, Lat. *Monaeses*, and the corresponding fem. NP *Manēža*, name of Afrāsyāb's daughter in the Šāh Nāma. Does this name then not belong to those listed s.v. *Atpizza*? Or should one on the contrary infer that the suffix *-īča-* could not only replace the final *a* of thematic stems, but alternatively be attached to it? Cf. the discussion following upon the list given s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Mannuz(z)a**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*MENZIŠBA* (fem.): *\*vyanja-as-pā-* "she who adorns horses", to Skt *vyañj*.

**Mipanda**: *\*vi-banda-* "the ensnaring, beguiling", cf. Parth. *wbndg*, Sogd. *wβ'ntk* "snare" (Henning, «BSOAS» 11, 471, n. 4).

**Mipušda**: *\*vi-busta-* (or *\*buzda-*) ~ Skt *vibuddha* "wide awake, clever". Formally cf. Av. *hupō.busta-*.

**Mipuzana** (1): *\*vibaufāna-*, patronymic of *\*vi-baufa-* "deliverer". Cf. *Appuzana*.

**Marka** (1): *\*hvarga-* ~ Ved. *svargá* "the heavenly, celestial"?

*MIRUKA*: *\*vi-rauka-* "(he who is like a) lightning, the fulminant", to MP *wrwg*, Bal. *girōk* "lightning".

**Marmaka** (1): *\*hu-arma-ka* "having fine arms", cf. *Ank-umarma* and *Irmama*.

**Marmadaš** (1): *\*vārma-dā* "memorizer", to Av. *vārma*, Pahl. *vārom* (cf. Bailey, *Zor. Prob.* 103 with n.), which Henning used to connect with NP *barm* "memory".

**Mirmuzana** (1): *\*marva-šana-* (or possibly *\*marvi-fo*) "ant-killer", cf. Av. *maurvi-* (and the passages quoted by Bth. s.v.) and Skt *vamrā* beside *vamrī*. A typical Magian name.

*MIRINZA*: *\*mynča-* "destroyer, destructive", retrenched name, to Av. *māranča-* (base *marək-*). Cf. *Mirinzali*, *Mirinzamna*, and *Mirinzana*.

**Mirinzali**: *\*mynča(t)-āl-* "he who destroys the false", confirming against Kent, that OP *a-ra-i-ka* belongs to Skt *alīkā*, and is therefore to be read *arīka*, just as the Sogd. spelling *ryk* stands for *rik* (see Henning, *Sogdica*, 4). Beside *arīka-*, however, we now see that also *alīka-* existed, the IE *l* phoneme having survived dialectally in western Iran (as in any case was always clear from the NP evidence), cf. Herbert H. Paper, «JAOS» 76 (1956), 24 sqq. Av. *aračka-*, denoting a species of ants, can at most be only remotely related to OP *ar|līka-*, cf. Bailey, «BSOAS» 24 (1961), 476. For the first component of the name see s.v. *Mirinza*. Cf. also *Lakša*.

**Mirinzamna**. This could be simply the middle participle *\*mynčamna-* of *marək-*, as the voice of this verb is regularly middle in Avestan, in which language, moreover, the pr. n. *baramna-* "riding = rider" might be thought to constitute a parallel.

But in the sense of "rider" *barəmna-* must have been virtually a technical term, such as a word meaning "destroying" would have little chance to become. In any case the existence of the retrenched name *Mirinza* = *\*mynča-* makes one wonder if *\*mynčamna-* would really be used beside it. The alternative is to reconstruct an OP *\*mynčāuna-* < *\*mynča-ahuna-*. This could be either a *-na-* extension (cf. Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup>, para. 562 (a)) of *\*mynča-ahu-* "life-destroyer", a compound of such intense Zaratruštrian flavour that the name could hardly have been but a nickname imposed disapprovingly by Zaratruštrians, or mockingly by pagans familiar with the prophet's views (cf. his warning *manahīm ahūm mərəngəduyē* "you destroy the spiritual life", *Yasna* 53.6); or else the name might mean outright "he who destroys the *Ahuna Vairya* prayer", *ahuna-* being the Av. technical term for that prayer. The prayer being among the most sacred of the early Zaratruštrians, and very likely a composition of the prophet himself, the existence of a Zaratruštrian milieu at Persepolis would again be assured.

**Mirinzana:** *\*mynčāna-*, patronymic of *Mirinza* (q.v.).

**MIRAPARNA:** *\*vira-farna(h)-* "he who brings fortune to the warriors".

**MARŠAKKA:** *-ka-* extension either of *\*varsa-*, a retrenched name belonging to Av. *varša-* "hair" (see *AHM* 265 and cf. *Hamarša*, *Appirmarša*), or of *\*varša-*, to the Av. pr. n. *varšava-*, cf. *Appumarša*. There is of course also Av. *varša-* "tree" to be considered, cf. Aram. *wršbr* (Henning *apud* G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, abridged ed., 1957, 67).

**Mirad(da):** *\*virāda-* ~ Av. *virāza-* (pr. n.). Cf. *Miradana*.

*Mirauda*, see *Mirayauda* and *Miruda*.

*Miruda* (1). The form *Mirauda* of which B. wants *Miruda* to be a variant cannot be the one he seems to mean (since he does not explain it in its own terms), viz. the only one occurring in Hallock's 1963 typescript, seeing that that is no more than a scribal error for *Mirayauda* (q.v.). However, an individual called *Mirauda* appears in *PTT*, No. 68, of whose name *Miruda* would be a normal variant. It is in any case perfectly legitimate to interpret the *u* of *Miruda* as representing Ir. *au* (cf. *Udusana*, etc.), just as its *i* may stand for Ir. *āya* (cf. El. *mišpar*[.] for OP *Vāyaspāra-*). I would therefore see in *Miruda* the earliest occurrence

of the name which in Latin appears as *Orodes*, in Parth. and MP as *Wērōd*, and in NP as *Wērōy* (see Henning, *AM*, II, 1952, 178 n. 2). The OP form may have been *\*vaya(h)-rauda-*. As an etymological shot in the dark (and into the air) one might hazard translating it as "growing into the ether (= exceedingly tall)", cf. Av. *vayah-* "ether" and *raod-* "to grow".

*Miradana* (1), rather than = *\*vira-dāna-* (thus B.), is a patronymic of *Mirad(da)a* (q.v.).

*Miradadda* (1): B.'s reconstruction *\*vira-dāta-* should be interpreted as a Persianization of OIr. *\*vira-zāta-* "born of a warrior".

**Mardada:** *\*hvar-dāta-* "sun-created", or *\*x<sup>v</sup>arta-dā-* ~ Av. *\*x<sup>v</sup>dša-dā-* "food-giver" (cf. *Marriyad(da)a*).

*Mar(r)iya*, see s.v. *Marriyad(da)a*.

**Miriya** (1): *\*vīrya-* "the virile".

**Marriyakarša**, see s.v. *Marriyad(da)a*.

**Marriyabaddana** (?) (1): *\*varya-padāna-*, patronymic of *\*varya-pada-* "belonging to a desirable family"; on the first component cf. *Marriyad(da)a*, on the second *Kurabada*.

**Marriyad(da):** *\*x<sup>v</sup>arya-dā-* "giver, dispenser, of eatables", cf. *Mardada*.

*Mirayauda* (var. *-rauda*): *\*vira-yauda-* "qui combat les guerriers" (B.). Here the inversion *ia-u-da-mi-ra* in *PTT*, = *\*yauda-vira-* deserves to be recalled from B.'s article in «JA» 1958, 53. Cf. *Hiuda*.

*Marriyad(da)a*, treated by B. s.v. *Mariyya* (recte *Mar(r)iya*) as containing OIr. *marya-* "jeune gaillard" (cf. on this word *AHM* 152 sq.), was surely better explained by him in «JA» 1958, 53 sq. (partly following Cameron, *PTT*, 91), as corresponding to Aram. *wryst* (*\*varya-zāta-* "né désirable"). Similarly one may interpret *Marriyakarša* (var. **Marya-**), whose *karša* remained unclear to B., as *\*varya-karša-* "having a desirable shape, outline", cf. Sogd. *ckšt-* "ugly" (see *Corrigenda* slip to *GMS* para. 286). It seems very possible, then, that even *Mar(r)iya* is not a "jeune gaillard", but simply *\*varya-* "the desirable".

**Marrezza** see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Mirizza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Marazana* see s.v. *Māšana*.

**Mesakka:** \*vaiθaka-, corresponding to the \*vaēsaka- of which Av. vaēsaki- is a patronymic.

**Misapuša** (1) is evidently OP \*viθa<sup>h</sup> puša-, despite B.'s surprising statement (p. 26) that "à notre avis un v.p. \*viθa puša n'a jamais existé", which leaves him unable to account for the present name<sup>1</sup>. The name-givers may have understood the juxtaposition as "prince", perhaps facetiously with reference to the name-bearer's demeanour, or simply as "house-boy", cf. Kurd. bispör, Henning, *Mélanges Morgenstierne*, 97 n. 8. See *Miššaputra*.

**Misranka**, see s.v. *Mitranka*.

**Misrada** (1) and *MITRADA*: \*miθ(rā)-rāda- "having Miθra as Fürsorger (Av. rāda-)".

*Masdayašna*, see s.v. *Mašdadda*.

*MASTEZZA* and **Mastuz(z)a**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Muška:** \*mūška- "mouse", despite Cameron, *PTT* 108, who thought that the name was Elamite. On the one hand even an Elamite scribe could have been called by a Persian nickname, especially if his native name was difficult to remember or pronounce, and on the other there may have been more than one Persian who, like the ill-fated Martiya of Beh. II 8, could pass for an Elamite even in Elam, and might conceivably have learned to write the El. language. Cf. *Ammadadda*, *Aptiš*, and *Teatukka*.

**Miškarra** (1): \*va(h)īs-kara-, unnazalized and contracted variant of *Manyāškurra* (q.v.).

**Maušuma** = \*vahu-šavah- matches the Rigvedic hapax *vāsu-śravas* "of good fame". Cf. *Tarkašuma* s.v. *Tarkašaviš*, and *Uššuma*.

*Miššumanya*. B.'s reference to a name "Οισιοαρο à Surkh-Kotal" (he must mean line 9 of the monolith version of the Nokonzok inscription, cf. «AM» 12 [1966], 94, 107 with n. 30) is puzzling.

*Mušmardu*, see s.v. *Mišišmarduka*.

**Māšana** (1): \*maišāna-, patronymic of a retrenched name, or nickname, \*maiša- ~ Av. māša- "sheep"; cf. *Mešizza* s.v.

<sup>1</sup> On the strength of this very name I suggested years ago to Professor Hallock that an OP \*viθa puša- "prince" did exist, whereupon he informed me that an unpublished tablet contains the common noun *misapušaš.pe* (plur.), in a context where the meaning "princes" fits.

*Atpizza*. Similarly, to remain in the animal domain, *Marazana* = \*varāzāna- is a patronymic of the attested *Mar(r)aza* = *varāza*- "boar" (used as pr. n. both in Av. and in its Skt form, *varāha*, as B. duly notes), and *Kabaudana* (1) = \*kapautāna- a patronymic of the attested *Kabauda* (1) = *kapauta*- (which as a pr. n. surely means "dove", and not "bleu" as B. has it; cf. Bailey, «TPHS» 1945, 6). With the latter also goes **Kaputtiš** (1) (fem.) = \*kapautī-, either as straight-forward fem. of *kapauta*-, or as fem. of \**kapauti*-, i-patronymic of *kapauta*.

*Miššanapa* apud Cameron, «JNES», 24 (1965), 174. One hesitates, without independent evidence, to propose either *Miθra*- or *vispa*-. Perhaps = \*miša-nāfa- "of mixed family", to Ved. *miśrā*, Av. *misvan*-? Cf. s.v. *Širadamma*.

*MiššABAKAŠ*: \*visa-pāka- "all-protecting". Cf. *Hubakka*.

*MİSBAPIRRIYA* (fem.): \*vispa-fryā- "dear to all".

*Mišparma*, quoted by B. s.v. *Mišbesa* (q.v. below), is very likely a haplogogy of \**vispa-parva*- "the first of all", applied perhaps to a first-born child.

**Maššaparna** (var. -paharna) ~ Av. \*vasō.x<sup>h</sup>arənah- "having Fortune at his will", cf. Av. *vasō.xšaθra*- etc.

*Mišbesa* (var. -beasa): not "haplographie de v.p. \*visa-paiθa-" (thus B.), but haplogogy of \**vispa-paiθa*-.

*MİŠŠAPUTRA* ~ Av. *vīsō puθra*-, see *Misapuša*.

**Mišpiza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Mišsasūzana** (1): \*visa-θučāna-, patronymic of \**visa-θuča*- "all-enlightening", a thematic extension of the OP counterpart to RV *viśvasūc*.

*MİŠİŠMARDUKA* is presumably a *ka*-extended variant of the name which appears as *Muš-mar-du* in *PTT*. One may reconstruct a \**vi-(ši-)šmartu(ka)*- "the forgetful", to Skt *vi-smṛ*, with *ši* in \**višišm*<sup>o</sup> corresponding to *hi* in Av. *hišmar*-. For the -*tu*- suffix cf. the name of the Avestan demon *vīdātu*-.

*Maušudda* is semantically better explained as \**vahu-sūta*- "giving, or gaining, good profit" (cf. NP *sūd*), than as \**vahu-šūta*- "mû pour le bien" as B. suggests. Cf. *Ramišudda*.

*MİWİŠTİŠ*: \**vyuštī*- "(born at) dawn", retrenched name. Cf. RV *vyuštī*, Khot. *byūs*-/*byūšta*-, Av. *vyusq*. See s.v. *Zimak(k)a*.

**Mašdadda** (?) (1): \**maz(dā)-dāta*- = Av. *mazda-dāta*- "created by Mazdāh", with El. *šd* as in the spelling *Mašdayašna*

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of the Treasury tablets (see Cameron, *PTT* 91), against *Masda-ayašna* (apud B.) in the Fortification tablets. Cf. Ir. *zd* in *Aštiya* and *Atrašda*, *zb* in *Makrušba* (?), and *zr* in *Akšimašra* and *Irtasra*. Note that the Fortification names also include *Urdad-da* (1) = *ahura-dāta-* (apud B.), and see my *A(vestan) H(ymn to) M(iθra)* 50, 169, on the relation between the two compounds.

*Mišdada* and *Mišidadda* (1) = OP *Vahyazdāta-* (apud B.); see s.v. *Manyaškurra*.

**Mešizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Miššezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Matukka**, (var. *-du-*), and (fem.) **Matukka** (1): *\*madukā-* cf. Skt *mādhuka* (pr. n.), "the honeyed"; cf. *Matmabba*.

**Medumannuš** (1): *\*vaida(h)-vayhu-* "having good possessions", with inversion of the word-order as in *\*ēišā-vahu-* (cf. *Ziššawiš/Mauzišša*)? The first component would be identical with Ved. *vēdas* and Av. *vādah-*, of which the latter, thematically extended, perhaps constitutes the Av. pr. n. *vādayha-*. But see s.v. *Irtammannuwiš* [bearing in mind *Midamanya*].

[*MIDAMANYA*: *\*vaida(h)-vayhya(h)-* "he whose possessions are the better", see above, p. 169 n. 2].

**Matmabba** (1) (fem.): *\*madwābā-* < *\*madu-wābā-* "honeycomb"? If this is the true explanation, the compound will have been an IE fossil in OIr., both on account of the pre-Iranian meaning of *madu-*, and because of the otherwise only Germanic conception of a honeycomb as a "web". Cf. *Matukka*.

**Matēna**: *\*madyāyana-* (for Hallock's *ē* cf. *Harrēna* and *Pirrēna*), patronymic of *\*madya-* (Av. *maiḍya-*) "the middle one (of three children)".

**MITPIRNA**: *\*viθ-farna(h)-* "favoured by the clan's Fortune".

**Mitranka**. The correctness of B.'s identification of this name with Aram. *wydrng* depends on whether or not **Misranka** (1), not mentioned by B., is an alternative spelling of it. For the *s* of the latter certainly represents OP *θ*, of which El. *t* is a common enough symbol. A doubt must therefore also affect B.'s interpretation of *Appitranka* as *\*api|abi-dranga-* "avec *dranga-* comme terme de relation sociale" (translation?). It may be simpler to relate *Appitranka*, as *\*abi-θranga-*, "oppressor", to the attested Sogd. noun *βtrng* "oppression" (< *\*abi-tṛnga-*), and interpret

*Mit|sranka* as *\*vi-θranga-* "at ease, free from pressure". The *y* of Aram. *wydrng* in any case suggests that that name was not formed with the preverb *vi-*.

**Mitarda** (1): *\*vi-t|darta-* "the distant, aloof", cf. Oss. (i)*dard* "far" and the various etymological suggestions quoted for it by Abaev.

**MITRADA**, see *Misrada*.

**-MU-TARMANIZZA**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Maturzana** (1): *\*māt-čana(h)-* "wanting his mother". Such a description might refer to a man tied to his mother's apron-strings, or to one bereaved of her, or to one homesick, but in view of Av. *nāiri.činah-* "wanting a wife", and the well-known practice of *x'aēθvadaθa-* marriages in ancient Iran (cf. Justi, *GIP*, II, 435, and recently J. de Menasce, «RHR» 162 [1962], 86, where mothers are specifically included), it seems possible that the reference was to an aspirant to metrogamy.

**Mitiša**: *\*vidiša-* "the liberal", cf. Av. *vidišā-* "liberality".

**Madašba**. To B.'s *\*vāta-aspa-* "aux chevaux de vent" one may prefer *\*vata-aspa-* "having small horses", cf. Khot. *bata-* (Bailey, «BSO(A)S» 6 [1930-2], 70 and 14 [1952], 422 sq.). We note in passing that the recognition that *\*vata-* meant not only "bad", but also "small", most satisfyingly supports Hübschmann's purely phonetic derivation of NP *bačēh* "child" from (Mlr.) *\*vat-čak* (Np. Stud. 26).

**MĀDADA**: *\*va(h)yadāta-* (with *d < z < zš < sz*, cf. *Zādada*) "the better born"? Cf. *Mādatika* and see s.v. *Manyaškurra*.

**Midad(d)a**: *\*vi-dada(h)-* "broad-bottomed", lit. "whose buttocks are wide apart", to Av. *zadah-*? Cf. Av. *vī-sūpti-* (see *AHM* 261) and Ved. *vy-āṃsa*, both meaning "broad-shouldered", lit. "whose shoulders are wide apart". See *Mizzašma* below.

**Mādatika** (1): *-ka-* extension of the *i*-patronymic of *Mādada* (q.v.).

**Mitezza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza* (under *Miššezza*).

**Mazamanna**: *\*mazavāna-*, patronymic of *\*mazava-* "the vigilant, wary", thematic extension of what in Av. is *mazu-*.

**Mizzamida** (1): *\*miḡā-mita-* "the blinking", cf. Sogd. *myt'k* (Bailey, «BSOAS» 23 [1960], 23) and see *Mizapirzaka*.

**Māzana** (1): *\*vahyazāna-*, either "knowing (*zāna-*) what is



better" or "belonging to a better race (*zana-*)", with *z* < Indo-Ir. *sž* (cf. *Mādada* and *Zādada*).

*Mizapirzaka* (1) (fem.), quoted without explanation by B., could well represent *\*miǰā-bīzakā-* "having long eye-lashes", cf. Sogd. *brz'(k)* "long" and *mz'* (Henning, *Sogdica* 5). The woman, for all we know, may have been Sogdian, as may have been the men called *Mizzamida* and *Umartanna* (qq.v.). On the other hand *Kabba* (q.v.), despite the eastern Iranian appearance of his name, may well have been a Westerner, seeing that in *Kabbašakka*, if we have correctly interpreted the name, the second component is decidedly Persian.

**Mauzirma** (1): *\*vahu-zrva-* "having (or due to have) a good old age", to Av. *zrva* (see Henning, « BSOS » 8 [1936], 586).

**Mizirma**: *\*vi-zarma-* "free of distress", cf. Sogd. *zrm*.

*Mauzišša*, see s.v. *Ziššawiš*.

**Mizzašma** (1): *\*vi-šašma-* "whose eyes are wide apart", cf. *Zišmarka* and see *Midad(d)a* above.

*Mauzittarra* (var. *-itra*), see s.v. *Ziššawiš*.

**NAKMANDA**: *\*naxvanta-*, thematic extension of *\*naxvant-* "first(born)", to Parth. *nxwšt*, NP *nuxust* etc., cf. Bth., *Zum altir. Wb.* 48, possibly also *Ašbanakkuš* (1) (apud B.; *-u-* stem, not *-va-* stem as B. makes it). Cf. *Nakkunda* and see s.v. *Bakunda*.

**Nakkunda**: the same as *Nakmanda*, cf. *Bakunda*.

**Naktiš** (1): *\*naxti-* "the nocturnal".

*Napapartanna*, see s.v. *Šandupirzana*.

**Nappatamka** (1): *\*nāfa-tauka-* (or *\*nabā-t°*) "family-offspring". The combination with *nappa* virtually amounts to a guarantee that *tamka* represents the OIr. counterpart of RV *tokā*. See also *Tamka*, *Katamka*, *Išbakatukka*, *Aššašutukka*, *Harraštamka*, and *Dumitamka*.

**Naptaš**: *\*nafta-* "the wet", either metaphorically as "sentimental, etc.", or literally, from childhood. Cf. Av. *napta-*.

**Napiyapiš** (?) (1): *\*nāfyabi(š)-* ~ Av. *nāfyō.ībiš-* "hostile to his relatives", treated in El. as an *i-*stem because the nom. sg. ended in *-iš*. Cf. *Appišmanda* for *b* from *dv*, and *Upiš* for *-iš*.

**NABEZZA**, *Napizza*, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Narišanka* confirms what Greek *παρσάγγης* had long sugg-

ested, viz. that the Av. cluster *yh* in *Nairyō.sayha-* represents a sound which already in Old Iranian times was heard as a velar *n*. B. rightly states that the El. spelling reproduces *\*narya-sanga-*, "avec la nasale qui est absente de mp. *Narsah*, arm. *Nerseh*". But what has not yet been stated, and is important, is that the absence of the nasal from *Narsah*, as well as its presence after long *ā* in B. Sogd. *'βs'ny* "parasang" (which goes back to what in Av. would be *\*frasāyha-*, but in Skt *\*praśāsa*, not *\*praśāmsa*), combine to show that Av. *nairyō.sayha-* disagrees with Ved. *nārā-sāṃsa* not only in its first component but also in its second, in that *\*sayha-* here represents proto-Ir. *\*saha-*. Beside *\*Nary-asaha-* (MP *Narsah*) and *\*frasaha-* (Arab. *farsax*, and presumably Arm. *hrasax*, Syr. *prsh'*) OIr. thus had on the one hand *\*Nary-asayha-* (Av. *Nairyō.sayha-*, El. *Narišanka*, Sogd. *nr(y)snx* with secondary *š*) and *\*frasayha-* (MP *frasang*, NP *farsang*, and Gr. *παρσάγγης*), and on the other *\*frasāyha-* (Sogd. *'βs'ny*, *fns'x*); the form *\*frasāha-* is of course a necessary presupposition for the reconstruction of *\*frasāyha-*, but on the whole Arm. *hrasax* and Syr. *prsh'* are less likely to represent it than *\*frasaha-*, while Sogd. *fs'x* is no more than an *n*-less *fns'x*. In addition to *\*sā(η)ha-* there existed the variant *\*saxwa(n)-* (from *\*sah-wa(n)-*), attested through Parth. *nrysf* (see Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 96) and Sogd. *fs(w)x*. It is noteworthy that, while before *a* an *h* preceded by *η* was velarized in the dialect(s) for which the El. spellings vouchsafe its secondary nasalization (cf. also *Yašnamanka* and *Ištimanka*), this did not happen before *y*, *u*, and *r* (cf. *Manyāškurra*, *Irtammanuaviš*, and *Zimardanra*), no doubt because *h* tended to disappear in these positions, as indeed before *u* it did disappear in standard OP. Moreover, the comparison of Gr. *παρσάγγης* with El. *battiyamanyā* for OP *patiyāvahyai* (see above, p. 170) assures us that before *a* and *y* the nasalization of postvocalic *h* was a feature of the standard OP language (naturally undetectable in the inscriptions, where anteconsonantal *n* is never written), and one which, as the foreign renderings of Darius's name make clear, had developed only after the loss of OP *h* before *u*. Accordingly *Irtammanuaviš*, *Mamannuaviš*, etc. belong to one or more western dialects distinct from standard OP, while *Manyāškurra*, *Dadumanya*, or *Narišanka* can be held to reproduce the pronunciation of Darius himself. Finally, if Gr. *'Ασπράγγης*

should really turn out to represent \**īsti-hu-aha-* (see above, s.v. *Īstimanka*), we would be able to say that the nazalization of *h* was not a feature of the Median language. MP *Narsah* would then continue the Median form of the name (it in any case disagrees with the Parthian one), and Arab. *farsax*, Arm. *hrasax*, Syr. *prsh'* the Median form of the "mile" word.

**NARIYAMANA**: \**narya-mana(h)-* "manly-minded", ~ Av. *naire.manah-*. *Nariyama* (apud B.) is according to Hallock's supplementary list a scribal error for *Nariyamana*.

**NARIYAMADA**: \**narya-mada(h)-* "of heroic size", to Av. *mazah-*.

**NARIYAPIKNA** (of which *Nariyanpikna*, apud B., is according to Hallock's supplementary list a mistype): \**narya-bigna-*.

**NARIYĀZA**: \**narya-iža-* "of manly striving (Av. *ižā-*)". Thus, rather than = *Narezza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Narezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Nasukka**, see s.v. *Zasuma*.

**Našpanda** (1): nominative juxtaposition (as in the case of *Šarukba*, q.v.) \**nā spanta* "incremental man". Cf. Av. *spantem narəm ašavanəm yazamaide* "we worship the Truth-owning incremental man", *Visprat*, 19, 1. If B. was right (p. 98) in inferring a lack of "inspiration zoroastrienne" from the supposed absence of \**spanta-* from his onomasticon, then the present name, though it may be the only one containing \**s(p)anta-*, should decidedly tip the scales in favour of admitting such an inspiration, in view of the pronounced "Zarathuštric" flavour of the corresponding juxtaposition in the Avesta. But readers may judge for themselves whether such an admission really need depend on the presence or absence of the "incremental" word alone.

**Nuttima** (1): \**nidma-* "the subterranean", from \**nizma-*, to Av. *nisma-*? See *Zimardawra*.

**Nutannuya**, also occurring in *PTT*, was reasonably translated by Cameron, p. 97, as "supply (?) clerk". Today one would preferably interpret \**ni-dāniya-* as "hoarder", cf. «AM», 2 (1951), 143.

**NIDARMA**: \**nidruva-*, cf. Skt *nidhruva* (pr. n.), Ved. *nidhruvi* "faithful". The El. spelling agrees with *tarma*, rendering OP *druvā* in Beh., para. 55.

**Nuyakka**, see s.v. *Unuyakka*.

**Ba'uka** (1): \**pāyuka-*, -*ka-* extension of \**pāyu-*, which occurs in Hallock's 1963 typescript as **Bayau**. RV *pāyū* is both a noun, "protector", and a pr. n. The word is the ancestor of Oss. *fiyan* "shepherd", see «BSOAS», 14 (1952), 484. Cf. *A'ukka*.

**BAKAKKA**: -*ka-* extension of a retrenched name \**baga-*. See *Bakena*.

**Bakukka** (1), see *Bakamka*.

**Bakakbama** (1). This is the name, and not *Baku(k)bama* as B. has it (see the next entry), which reproduces \**baga-bāma-*, and not, as B. offers as alternative, \**baga-pāva-*. Justi's *Namenbuch*, to judge from p. 488, includes no names ending in \**bāma-*, but they were commonly given to girls at a later stage among the Iranian communities of Central Asia, see Henning, *Sogdica*, 7 sq. \**Baga-bāma-* should mean "deriving lustre from Baga". Cf. *Irdabama*.

*Bakukbama* (1) and *Bakub(b)ama* scarcely represent \**baga-bāma-* as B. wants (see the preceding entry). I had long related the second component with that of *Harbazwukbama*, but did not feel sure about their identity until *BAKAUBAMA* turned up. Comparison with *Harbazwukbama* and *Irtambama* (qq.v.) suggests that the three El. spellings represent \**baga-upāhva-*, the meaning of which might be "whose preoccupation is, preoccupied with, Baga".

**Bakakeya**: \**baga-xāya-* "Baga's partner", cf. *Irdakkāya*, where the value *x* of El. *k* is assured by Gr. *Ἀγραχάης* and Aram. *'rth̄y*. The name, which in *PTT* appears as *ba-ka-gi-ia*, was interpreted by B. already in «JA» 1958, 52 as \**baga-gaya-* "qui tient sa vie du dieu". But the "dieu" in question being Baga, one would need firm independent evidence before such an important prerogative of Miθra's as the giving of life (cf. above s.v. *Kedaštiš*) could be attributed also to him.

**Bakamka** (var. -*mukka*) and **Bakukka** (1): -*ka-* extension of \**bagā-va(h)u-*, see s.v. *Bakawiš*.

*Bakumanya* represents \**baga-manyā-* according to B. who, however, offers no translation. To my mind the name is closely related to *Bakawiš* (q.v.) = \**bagā-vahu-*, the meaning of which should be "he of whom what is good derives from Baga", just as Av. *ašāvayhu-* ~ RV. *ītāvasu* (represented at Persepolis by *Irtammannuwiš* and, without *ṛ*, *Irdawiš* qq.v.) is best understood

as "he of whom what is good derives from Truth". *Bakumanya*, interpreted as *\*bagā-vayhya(h)-*, will then mean "he of whom what is better derives from Baga", and join *Dadumanya* (q.v.) and Av. *vayhah-* in displaying nasalization of the first *h* of Av. *vahyah-*. The expected corresponding superlative occurs in Aram. *Mtrvḥšt* = *\*miθrā-vahišta-*, whose meaning can now be defined as "he of whom what is best derives from Miθra".

*Bakena*: *\*bagāyana-*, patronymic of a retrenched name *\*baga-* (differently B.). Cf. Nisa Parth. *Bgynk* (D'jakonov and Livšic, *Dokumenty iz Nisy*, 23), and see *Bakakka*.

*Bakanšakka*, see *Bakašakka*.

*Bakunda* = *bagavant* (?) (thus B.). I reached the same conclusion, fortified by *Ukpunda*, *Kampunda*, and *Nakkunda*. The question mark can now be removed, as Hallock's supplementary list includes the names *Kampumanda* and *Nakmanda*, which surely are identical with *Kampunda* and *Nakkunda*. In all four names the Ir. *-vant-* suffix has been extended by the thematic vowel, as in the case of *Mannunda*, *Appišmanda* and *Aššamanda* and, with the *-mant-* suffix, *Kumanda*. The recovery of the OIr. equivalent of Ved. *bhāgavat* "fortunate, prosperous, illustrious, venerable", probably apart from *gītā* the most widely known Skt word, is not without piquancy.

*BAKABAWUKKA*: *\*baga-bauga-* "serving Baga". The translation "serving", is inspired by B., see s.v. *Appuzana*.

*BAKAUBAMA* and *Bakub(b)ama*, see s.v. *Bakukbama*.

*Bakapanda* (1) does stand for *\*baga-banda-* as B. has it, but the meaning is not "qui est lié au dieu". See *Bakapanza*.

*BAKAPANZA*, = *\*baga-banza-* "he who serves, supports, Baga", displays the OIr. *z* of which the *d* of *Bakapanda* (q.v.) is the expected OP variant. Both second terms have *b* from proto-Ir. *dv*, as is the case also in *Appišmanda* (q.v.). The base is known from GAv. *dabqz-*, YAv. *bqz-*, Parth. *bz-*, and Oss. *bəzzun*, on which B. wrote in *Études sur la langue ossète*, 21 sq.

*Bakubeš(š)a* (var. *-bāša*): *\*baga-upāiša-* "approaching Baga with prayers", to RV *upā-ā-īṣ* "to approach (with prayers), apply to, implore (somewhat differently Geldner)"? There are other possibilities, but the connexion with *Bakabašša* offered by B. must be excluded.

*BAKARIMA-Š-DA* (?): *\*baga-raivasta-* "deriving pomp from Baga"? The second component may be a thematization of *\*raivastā-* (or *\*stāt-*), abstract of *\*raivant-* = Av. *raīvant-* "rich, magnificent, splendid". For El. *rim* cf. *Rimadadda* = *\*raiva-dāta-* (apud B.) and *Rimadda* below. It is on account of the El. *i* that I am provisionally discarding, pending further evidence, the more interesting interpretation of the name as *\*bagār-vasta-* "deriving his skill (or sim.) from Baga", in view of the El. rendering *harmaštam* of OP *arvastam* in *NR b* (see *PTT*, 43 n. 2).

*Bakerabba* according to B. represents *\*baga-rapa-*, "avec un *-e-* irrationnel". It does not seem unduly hard to interpret the first component as a locative *\*bagai*, and translate "whose support is in, rests on, Baga", cf. Av. *agračraθa-* "whose chariot is in the van".

*BAKARAŠDA*: *\*baga-rāšta-* "true to (*-ā-*), or directed by (*-a-*), Baga".

*Bak(a)urada* and *Bakuratsa*, see s.v. *Radamesa*.

*Bakawiš* (var. *-auwiš*): not *\*baga(h)uvi-* as B. has it, but *\*bagā-vahu-*, on the meaning of which see *Bakumanya*. Cf. *Irda(u)wiš* on the one hand, *Bakamka* on the other.

*Bakša*: *\*baxša-* "dispenser", retrenched name, to Av. *baxš-* "Anteil geben, austeilen".

*BAKAŠAKKA*: *\*baga-saka-* "remembering Baga", the variant *Bakanšakka* of which, with acc. ending of the first component, was quoted by B.

*Bakatamša* is a variant of *Bakadauša* (apud B.), and not of *Bakadanda* as B. has it. The *g* with which he prints these two names and *Bakaparna* is clearly due to an oversight.

*Puktena* (1): *\*buxtāyana-*, patronymic of a retrenched name *\*buxta-* "released", cf. Nisa Parth. *Bwhtk* and Justi, *NB*, 72. See *Puktezza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Bakatanduš*: *\*baga-dantu-* (Av. *zantu-*) "qui est du clan du Dieu" (apud B.). Instead of "du Dieu" read "de Baga", and see s.v. *Apšudāhuš* on the origin of this notion.

*Bakadada* and *Bakadda*. There is no good reason for throwing the two names together as B. does, who interprets both as *\*baga-dāta-*. This interpretation, implying a meaning "created by Baga", only applies to *Bakadada*, of which we now have

the fem. *BAKADADA* (\**baga-dātā-*). *Bakadadda* represents either a haplogy of \**baxta-dāta-* "he to whom luck (cf. NP *baxt*), a (good) share, is given" (cf. Nisa Parth. *Bḥtdtk*), or simply \**baxta-dā-* "share-giver, luck-bringer".

*Bakadāyawis* (1), for which B. has "baga- + -?-", represents \**baga-dahyu-*, on which see s.v. *Apšudāhuš* above.

**Puktezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Bakya*. B. gives \**bagaya* (?), with no comment. In the RV denominative present stems in *-ya-* with desiderative meaning are formed inter alia from *Indra* and *devā*; the pres. participle *devayant-* is translated by Geldner "Gottverlangend", the 3rd pl. mi. *indrayante* "[sie] verlangen nach Indra" (others, because of the middle voice, "they behave like Indra"). It therefore seems possible to interpret \**bagaya-* as "Baga-verlangend". At all events Gr. *Bayaiōs* is likely to be the same name.

*Bakeyaša* (1): not \**baga-yaza-* with B., but \**baga-yāsa-* "he who implores Baga". Cf. *Appiyašana*.

**Bakezza** (var. *-kiz[z]a*) see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Balizza** (1) and **Baliza** (?) (1), see s.v. *Atpizza* (after the list given there).

*Bamaka*: alternatively to \**bāmaka-* (thus B.) consider \**pa-vāka-* "the pure", see Bth., *Zum air. Wb.* 97 n. 4.

**Pumesa**: \**būma-iθa-* or \**būmi-aiθa-* "lording it over the earth", to Av. *aēs-* and either Ved. *bhūman* or *bhūmi*. Cf. *Battikamāša*.

**Panuk(k)a**: \**bānuka-* "the resplendent", cf. *Banuka* (?) (1) and *Banuš* (?) (1) apud B.

**Pandušaša** (1) (fem): \**bandu-xšašā-* "ruling over her kin", cf. RV *bāndhu* and, for the gender, Av. *vasō.xšaθrā-*.

**Babba** = \**pāpa-* and **Babaka** = \**pāpaka-* surprisingly appear neither in B.s' list nor on p. 17 of his book, where he suggests that *Ardašīr-i Pāpakān* was the son of *Pāp*, and not of *Pāpak*. But *Pāpakān* is surely a mere haplogy of \**Pāpak-akān*. The name is explained in Justi's *NB* as "Väterchen", but means in fact "protector"; cf. Av. *pāpō.vačah-*.

**Babena**: \**pāpāyana-*, patron. of *Babba*.

**Purā**, see *Puraya*.

**Baurakka** (1): \**baura-ka-* "the red-haired", cf. NP, *Digoron bōr* etc.

**Parrukuziš** (1) (fem.): \**paru-xauzī-* (with *z < dhs*) "possessing many dresses", to Khot. *khausa* "piece of cloth, rag" (see Bailey, «AcOr» 30 [1966], 27). The theoretical masc. might have been either \**paru-xauza-* (cf. *Ankamaššiš*) or, if the name was patronymic, \**paru-xauzi-* (cf. *Kaputtiš* s.v. *Māšana*). See *Duškamda*.

**Parmekka**: \**parvya-ka-* "first, preceding", to Av. *paouruya-*, cf. *Parmiyana*.

**Pirumanba** (1): \**parvam-pā-* "drinking first, before others", cf. RV *pūrva-pā*. For *pir* cf. the var. \**pirna* of *Mauparna* = \**vahu-farnah-* (apud B.); for *nb*, *Bakanšakka* and (apud B.) *Bakankama*; for *ba*, *Irdukba*.

**Parmidda** (1): \**parv-ida-*, them. extension of \**paru-id-* ~ Av. \**pouru.iz-* "wanting much", cf. Av. *aibiz-*? Alternatively \**paru-vid-*. See *Parmidana*.

**Parmidana** (1): \**parvidāna-*, patron. of the preceding.

**Parrumaturiš** (1): \**paru-hvāθri-*, patronymic of \**paru-hv-āθra-* = Av. *pouru.x<sup>a</sup>āθra-* "giving much comfort".

**Parmiyana** (1): \**parvyāna-*, patron. of \**parvya-*, cf. *Parmekka*.

*Pirmayabadda* (var. *-bada?*): \**fravya-pāda-* "fleet-foot", cf. the Av. pr. n. *frava-* "flink". Differently B. See *Pirmizza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Parmizza** (1), **Pirmizza** (1): see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Pirrēna**, and *Pirriyana* which alone is quoted by B., are patronymics respectively in *-āyana-* and *-āna-* of *frya-*, cf. *Piriya* below and Av. *Fryāna-*. For Hallock's use of *ē* cf. *Harrēna* and *Matēna*.

**Parnuma**: \**farnahvā-* "endowed with Fortune", a stem built on the nom. sg. corresponding to Av. *x<sup>a</sup>arənayuhā*, of OP \**farnahvant-*. This form is the direct ancestor of NP *farrux* (Salemann, *GIP I*, 262) as against *farxunda*, and thereby of Gr. *Φαγροῦχος*, MP *Plxw*, and Parth. *Prnxw* (differently Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 233, D'jakonov and Livšic, *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik II*, 1966, 141 n. 20; see Henning, *Mitteliranisch* 65).

**Parninaza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Pirnuš** (1): \**parnu-* "old", the same as *Barnuš* (1) quoted by B., who rightly refers to Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 39.

*Parnizza*, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Pirrasauka* (1) cannot have *sauka* corresponding to Ir. \**šā-*

*vaka-* as B. wants. Its identity is given by the next entry in B.'s list, *Pirratamka* (+ vars.), which he surprisingly interprets as *\*fratama-ka-* "premier". Clearly both spellings, as well as **Parsauka**, not quoted by B., reproduce the OP counterpart to Oss. *ræsug*, viz. *\*fraθauka-* "clear, spotless", cf. *AHM* 218. There is also, unmentioned by B., the name **Piršukka** (1), which as *\*frasauka-* would represent the general OIr. form of the adj., from which OP slightly departed. On the other hand, as we have a name *Piršuš* (q.v.) it is possible that *Piršukka* was merely a *-ka-* extension of *\*frašu-* or *\*přsu-*. [Alternatively *Pirratamka*, as *\*frāda(t)-vahu-ka-*, may belong to *Pirradawiš*].

**Piršukka** (1), see the preceding entry.

**Piršakkama:** *\*fraša-kāma-* "desiring what is excellent", to OP *fraša-*.

**Piršamarda** (1): *\*fraša-varḍa-*, synonymous with the Av. pr. n. *fraša-vaxša-* as both *vard-* and *vaxš-* mean "to grow"? One cannot, unless this turns out to be a defective spelling for *\*Piršammarda*, contemplate the far more attractive identification with Av. *fraš.hūm.varata-*, name of one of Vištāspa's sons; yet Greek *Φρασαόγρης*, which Justi, *NB* 104, identified with the latter, would admirably suit *Piršamarda* if both represented *\*fraša-varta-* "having an excellent chariot" (cf. s.v. *Umartanna*).

**Piršuš:** *\*frašu-* "the mobile", to Av. *frašumant-*? Or *\*přsu-* "flank" as a retrenched name, s-original of the *θ*-version appearing in *Hišmapirsu*? Cf. *Piršukka*.

**Pirrašda** (?) (1): *\*frašta-* "asked", retrenched from *\*paru-frašta-* "the much consulted", or sim., rather than from OP (*h*)*u-frašta-* "well punished".

**Baritukka** (+ vars.): *\*pari-θūka-* "shining all round", cf. Av. *dūrāt.sūka-* "far-shining".

**Pirdakamiya** (1). Among the numerous alternatives offered by B. I miss what seems to me the likely explanation: *\*frāda(t)-gavya-*, patron. (see Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup> 822) of *\*frāda(t)-gav-* "he who furthers cattle", cf. *Pirradawiš* and *Kampirrada*.

**Pirdukana** (1): *\*přtu-kana-* "tunnel-digger" as a term either parallel to *Zimardamra* (q.v.), or referring to the mole, so that this would be one of the animal names, like *Muška*? But a patron. of a *-ka-* extension of a retrenched name *\*přtu-* can also not be excluded.

**Pirduma** (1): *\*fratama-* "first".

*Pirratamka*, see s.v. *Pirrasauka*.

**Pirtanka** (1): *\*fra-θanga-* "educator", retrenched name, to NP *farhang* etc. Cf. Av. *fraθanḥayeiti* in *Yt* 17.2, which Henning used to translate "she educates".

**Pirtanda:** *\*břdanta-* "the tall", them. extension of the OP equivalent of Av. *barazant-* and ancestor of NP *buland*.

**Parrudasa** (1): *\*paru-daθa-* "having many possessions (Av. *dasa-*)".

**Pirradawiš** (1): *\*frāda(t)-vahu-* "he who furthers what is good", = Av. *frādaḥ.vayhu-* (n. pr.). Cf. *Ampirdawiš*, *Pirdakamiya*, and see s.v. *Ziššawiš*. Cf. also *Da'upirtanna* [and the postscript to *Pirrasauka*].

**Pirtiš:** *\*přθi-* ~ RV *přthi* or *přthī* (both pr. nn.).

**Pirtišba** (1): *\*břdi-aspa-* ~ Av. *\*barazy-aspa-* "whose horses are tall", cf. *Pirzimana* and *Pirzakka*.

**Piriya** (1) ~ Av. *frya* (pr. n.) "dear". Cf. *Pirrena*.

**Puraya** (var. **Purā**): *\*būrāya-*, haplogy of *\*būri-rāya-* "having much riches", cf. Av. *būri-* and RV *ā-rāya-*. On the variant *Purā* see s.v. *Piśā*.

**Pirriyabattiš** (1): *\*frya-pati-*, composé de deux termes bien attestés l'un et l'autre, mais dont la jonction peut surprendre; sens probable "qui est en tête des êtres chers" (thus B.). The "jonction" has long been known from Parth. *Φριαπίτης*, *Priapatius* (see Justi, *NB* 106), to which in 1960 the *Pryptykn* estate at Nisa was added (see D'jakonov and Livšic, *Dok. iz Nisy*, e.g. p. 117), as well as from Skt *priyapati*. The meaning of the name I would expect to have been simply "the beloved master, Liebmeister".

**Pirzakka** (1): *\*břzaka-* "tall", thematic extension of *\*břz-* = Av. *baraz-*, + *-ka-* suffix. Cf. *Pirtišba*.

**PIRZIMA-NA-** (?): *\*břzi-mana(h)-* "high-minded".

**Basak(k)a:** *\*paθāka-*, *-ka-* adjectivization of OP *\*paθā* "after" (on which see *TPS* 1964, 11 n. 2), cf. *Basāza* and *Bašakāya*. The meaning of *\*paθāka-* may have been "posterior" (perhaps at birth) or even, as of a retrenched name, "deputy", cf. Oss. *fasaḥsin* "deputy housewife", MP *ps'-gryw*, Parth. *ps'-gryw* "after-self, next in rank", «JRAS» 1954, 124 (see further the chapter entitled "Le second après le roi" in B.'s book, 51 sqq.), and El. *bašza-dasabattiš*, recognized by Kent apud Cameron, with

due reference to OP *pasā tanūm*, as meaning "deputy chief-of-ten" (PTT 111).

**Basāza** (1) presumably also contains OP *\*paθā*, the variant *pasā* of which is likely to be present in *Bašakāya* and *Bašizza* (s.v. *Atpizza*). The second component is perhaps a mere variant of the suffix of *Bašizza*, unless the name is a compound, say *\*paθā-yaza*— "performing the sacrifice later (after the more important members of the family have done so)"?

**Pisā** stands to **Pišiya** like *Purā* to *Puraya* (q.v.), cf. also *Šaušā*. The name may represent OP *\*pišya*— "paternal", from *\*piθrya*— ~ Ved. *pītrya*.

**BAŠAKĀYA**: *\*pasā-gāya*— "coming behind"? Cf. Ved. *paścāc-carā* on the one hand, *uru-gāyā* on the other. See *Basāza* and *Basakka*.

**Pišiya**, see *Pišā*.

**BAŠIZZA**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Badda** and **Badaka**: *\*pāta(ka)*— "the protected", retrenched name.

**Bauda** (1) (fem.): *\*baudā*— "the fragrant", retrenched name, cf. *Hupuda*.

**Puda** (1), = Av. *puda*— (n. pr.). Cf. *Putanna*.

**Badaka**, see *Badda*.

**Battikka** (1): *\*pati-ka*—, derived from *Battiš* (q.v.).

**Pidak(k)a**: *bīdaka*— "the seedy", *-ka*— extension of a retrenched name *\*bīda*—, see *Pidabarma* and *Indapiza*.

**Pudakka** (1) (fem.): *-kā*— extension of *\*puda*— (see *Puda*), *\*buda*— (see *Pudašba*), or *\*bauda*— (see *Bauda*); alternatively of *\*buda*— ~ Av. *būza*— "goat", see *Puza*.

**Batukkuka** (1): *\*paθu-gau-ka*— "owner, or herder, of sheep (or/and goats) and cattle", cf. *Battuš*.

**Battikama**. While in PTT this spelling represents *\*pati-gāma*— "message" (see Henning, «AM» 2 [1951], 142 n. 1), as a pr. n. one may prefer to recognize in it *\*pati-kāma*— = Ved. *pratikāmā* "desired". Cf. *Battikamāša*.

*Batikamiš* (var. *-maš*) should not represent *\*pāti-k/gāma*— as B. wants, for the reason explained s.v. *Batimana*. Perhaps = *\*paθi-gami*—, patron. of *\*paθi-gama*— "path-walker = traveller" (cf. *Patikra*), with which in any case the scribe, to judge from the variant, confused the name.

*Battikamāša*, regarded by B. as a variant of *Batikamiš* (q.v.), more likely contains *Battikama* (q.v.). Perhaps the Ir. form was *\*patikāma-aisa*— "lording it at will", cf. Ved. *pratikāmām* "at will" and see *Pumesa*.

**PATIKRA**: *\*paθi-xrā*— (or thematicized *\*xra*—) "path-walker (?) " (cf. *Batikamiš*), with the second component corresponding to the Ved. pr. nn. *dadhikrā* and *rudhikrā* (base *kram*—?).

*Battikurza* (var. *-ša*). Of B.'s two suggestions *\*gīza*— is theoretically possible, while *\*kīša*— is not, Ir. *š* being never represented by El. *z*. To my mind the name was *\*pati-kīza*— "archer", lit. "shooter", to Bal.-Pers. *peikāl*, «TPHS» 1964, 25 sq. On El. *ša* for Ir. *za* cf. s.v.v. *Šandupirzana* and *Hiyaukapirša*.

**Baddakašda** (1): *\*pāda-gašta*— "the foot-bitten", cf. NP *gašta*, Parth. *gšt*—.

**BATKADUŠ**: *\*paθkā-hādu*— "keeping straight to the law, law-abiding", to Oss. *fatk*, Sogd. *pōk* "law" (see Bailey, «TPHS» 1945, 11 sq.), and Ved. *sādhū* "straight, right".

**Baddumaka**: *-ka*— extension of *\*pāda(h)vā*— (with *d < z*), a stem standing to Av. *pāzahvant*— like *parmuma* (q.v.) to Av. *x<sup>v</sup>arəmahvant*—? Cf. *Badumašda*.

*Batimana* (1) is not, as B. suggests, = *\*patimāna*— (for which one would expect an El. rendering with *-tt*—, see «JNES», 24, 1965, 176), but might represent *\*paθimāna*— "he who is in control", with *ī < ya* (cf. s.v. *Manyāškurra*) as in the corresponding Av. form *paθimna*—.

**Badumašda**: *\*pādah-vazda(h)*— "whose face and back surfaces are fat, well nourished"; on *vazdah*— see Bailey in «TPHS», 1960, 66, on *\*pāzah*— his contributions as quoted by Mayrhofer s.v. *pājah*. Cf. *Baddumaka*.

**BAUTINNA**: *\*bauθina*—, perhaps them. extension of *\*bauθin*— "playful, merry", to Khot. *būs*— "to play", Arm. *zboš*— "to be merry", see Bailey, «REArm» 2 (1965), 2 sq.

**Putanna** (1): *\*puḍāna*—, patronymic of *Puda*.

*Battināda* (1) is not *\*pati-nāda*— as B. wants, but *\*patinaida*—, to Av. *naēd*—. The meaning happens to remain the same, "the abusive".

**BATTIBANA**: *\*pati-pāna*— "on his guard, circumspect", cf. *pā*— + *pati* in OP and Av., and my *AHM* 177.

*Pid(d)abarma* (presented by Cameron, «JNES» 24 [1965], 173):

\**bāda-barva-* "seed-chewer", to Ved. *bīja* "seed" which Bailey has identified with Sogd. *βyz'k* interpreted as \**βīzak* «BSOAS» 21 [1958], 42), and Ved. *bhārvati* "he chews", attested both in Av. *aš.baourva-* (Bth. 263 sq., 946 sq.) and in the name of the faithful Γωβρόης = OP *gau-barva-* = El. *Kambarma*, whose definition as "the beef-chewer" should never have been called in question. Cf. *Pidak(k)a*, *Pidaza*, *Pit(t)ezza*, and *Indapiza*.

**BATTIPIRRIRA**: \**pati-brīra-* "counter-yielding, offering (good) return", cf. Av. *xʷa-wrīra-* "giving a good yield" (of plants).

**Badura** (1): \**bādura* ~ Av. *bāzura-* "wing", cf. B., *Asiatica* (Festschrift Weller), 33 sq., retrenched from \**bādura-pāda-* "wing-footed" or *sim*.

**Putra** (?) (1): \**puθra-* "son", retrenched name.

**Baddurada** (1): \**bātu-rāda-* "wine-preparer", cf. *Baduzarma* and Av. *rād-* "to prepare".

**Bateš(s)a**: \**paθy-aiša-* "path-seeker", to Av. *aēš-*.

**Battiašša** (1) and **Battišša** see *Battišba*.

**Battiš**: \**pati-* "master"; cf. *Battikka* and *Pirriyabattiš*.

**Battuš**: \**paθu-* (Av. *pasu-*) "sheep, or/and goat". Cf. *Batukkuka*.

*Battišba* (var. *-iašba*): \**paty-aspa-* (apud B.). With this name go **Battišša** and **Battiašša** (1), = \**paty-asa-*.

**Pudašba**: \**buda-aspa-* "having intelligent horses", cf. Skt *budha*.

*Battitbešša* (1), see s.vv. *Appišmanda* and *Rapitbena*.

**Pidaza** (?) (1) and **Pit(t)ezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Putizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Baduzarma** (var. *-zirma*). To judge from the El. renderings listed in *PTT*, 44 of the OP month-name *θūravāhara-*, El. *du* would be irregular for OP *θu*. I am therefore excluding \**paθu-čarma-* "(wearing a) sheep-skin" (to Av. *čarəman-*) in favour of \**bātu-čarma-* "(looking like a) wine-skin", cf. *Ambana* and *Kamtika* for the image. This name, then, and *Baddurada*, may support despite Schaefer, «SPAW» 1935, 491 sq., the reality of OP *bātu-*, cf. Kent s.v.

**Bayau**, see *Ba'uka*.

**Puza** (1) ~ Av., *būza-* "goat", cf. *Pudakka*.

*Bazikka* (var. *-zaka*): \**pačika-* or \**pačaka-* "cook", cf. Av.

*yāmō.pačika-*, *zəmaini.pačika-*. Differently B. (to OP *bāfi-*). Hallock's supplementary list provides the fem. *BAZZIKKA* = \**pačikā-*.

**Pazišša** (1): \**bāha(h)-čiša-* (Av. \**bāghō.čīθra-*) "bright with lustre", to RV *bhāsas* (or *bhās*).

**Bauziya** (1): \**baujaya-* "delivering" or "being of service", retrenched from some compound such as \**baujaya(t)-vīra-*.

**Rakanda** (1). The same as *Irkanda*? If so, the relation would be as between Av. *ratunaya-* (cf. also *Radupir* below) and El. *Irdunuya*, or Ved. *rajatā* "silver(y)" and Av. *ərəzata-*, OP *ardata-* = El. *Irdadda* (q.v.) = \**rdata-*.

**Ramakka** (1): \**rāmaka-* "the peaceful".

**RAMAKŠARA**: \**rāma-xšāra-* "deriving strength from Rāman", see s.v. *Irdakšara*.

*Ramaniš* (1) and *Ramannuya* (1) (apud B.) display an *i*-stem and its thematic extension, to which Nisa Parth. *Rmnyš* (= *Rāmanīš*, see D'jakonov and Livšic, *Dok. iz Nisy*, 1960, 24) also bears witness.

*Ramišudda* (1) (fem.), whose gender is not mentioned apud B., rather than containing *šūta-* "mū, lancé", stands for \**ramya-sūtā-* "bestowing delightful benefits". Cf. Ved. *ramyā* "delightful" and *Manšudda* above. See also s.v. *Šuddayauda*.

**Rimadda** (1): \**rai-vāda-* (with *d < z*), cf. Georgian *Revas* as analyzed by A. Perikhanian, «REArm» 3 (1966), 26. See also *Bakarimašda* above.

*Rumatenda*, see *Ratininda*.

**Ramadāwiš** (1): \**rāma-dahyu-*, see s.v. *Apšudāhuš*.

*Ramiyauka* (var. *-me-*), quoted by B. (s.v. *Ramišudda*) without explanation, is a compound of the *Širauka* type (q.v.): \**ramya-vahu-ka-* "delightful (and) good", cf. *Ramišudda*.

**Rapšaka** (1) (fem.): \**rafšakā-* "the turgescent", to RV *rapšād-ūdhan* "having turgescent udders". Cf. Aram. *wrpš* (pr. n.) ~ Ved. *virapśá* which, as Eilers correctly assumed, derives from the base *rapš-*, see the contrary view, with literature, in Mayrhofer, «IL» (= *Turner Jubilee Volume*, I), 1958, 31 sqq.

**Rapšuka** (1): \**rafšuka-* "the shapely", cf. the Rigvedic hapax *rapsūdā* which the native commentators state contains *rapšu* "shape".

*Rapitbena* (1): probably not ~ Av. *raṇiθwina-* as B. assumes, but *\*raṇiθwāyana-*, patron. of a name *\*raṇiθwa-* "the southern", thematization of *raṇiθwā-* "noon, south". B. does not comment on the remarkable development  $\theta\beta < \theta\mu$  which the Persepolitan form shares with Av. and Sogd., and to which the one seen in *Battitbešša* may or may not be parallel, since here El. *tb* either corresponds to Av. *ṭb*, *ḏb*, *dab*, *dəb* < *dμ*, or to Sogd. *ḏβ* < *dμ*. As to *Appišmanda*, *Bakapanda*, and *Napiyapiš*, with their *b* < *dμ*, these go with Parthian, and with the Av. option seen e.g. in YAv. *bitya-* "second", against Sogdian.

*RASĀKURDA*: *\*raθai-gīda-* "chariot-bestrider", to Av. *garəd-* "gradi"? Cf. *Ratešda* (1) ~ Av. *raθaē-štā-* (apud B.).

*Rašdauka* (1): *\*rāštā-va(h)u-ka-* "ὀρθοκαυαθός", cf. *Rašdauma* and see s.v. *Širauka*.

*Rašdakma*, see the next entry.

*Rašdama* (1) and *Rašdakma* (1) (names of two distinct individuals) according to B. "pourrait être ou un composé *\*rāšta-ama-* ou un superlatif *\*rāštātama-* simplifié". This explanation certainly cannot apply to *Rašdakma*. It would therefore be applicable to *Rašdama* only if the latter's second component were different from the former's, as of course it may be. On the other hand the two forms may well represent the same name, provided that the second component was *ta(x)ma-* "strong", cf. *Tiššantamma* (apud B.) beside *Zitrantakma* and (apud B.) *Takmašbada*. *Raštakma* at all events is almost bound to contain *taxma-*, and must therefore have been shortened by haplology. The resemblance to Rustam's name may be deceptive, but surely justifies an attempt at identification. Supposing the lost syllable to have been *tu* one obtains *\*rastu-taxma-*, with the adj. as second component as in *\*ēišā-vahu-* (see *Ziššawiš* and cf. *GMS* p. 252). To the OP noun *\*rastu-* < *\*raštu-* (cf. OP *(h)ufrasta-* < *(h)ufrašta-*), with the *tu-* suffix familiar from Av. *zantu-*, *jyātu-*, etc., I would tentatively assign the meaning "growth", comparing Oss. *ræzin* (Dig. *iræzun*) "to grow". The unshortened form *\*Rastu-taxma-* "von starkem Wuchs" (cf. Justi) might then, in the case of the Gargantuan hero, have been metathesized to *\*Rusta-taxma-* owing to association with the most common verb for "to grow", *rust-* (base *r(a)ud-*, cf. *Miruda* above). Popular garbling of the consonant sequence would account for Pahl. *Rut(a)stahm*, and comp-

ensatory lengthening for *Rūstam* in Abdul Qādir's Lexicon (*rwstm*, scanning — —, see Nöldeke, *Nationalepos* 12 n. 1). NP *Rustam* ill agrees with the assumption that the first syllable ever had a *maḥhūl* vowel, but to explain a secondary acquisition of one, Hübschmann's (« IF », *Anz.*, VIII, 1897, 46) and Nöldeke's (p. 11) view, going back to Justi, *NB*, p. VIII, that Rustam's name was adapted to that of his mother *Rōdābe*, would be sufficient. Sogd. *rwstmy* was borrowed from Persian, cf. Sogd. *mrtxmy* against Pers. *mardum*. The earliest datable occurrence of the name so far has been the Armenian *Arōstom* in the fifth cent. A. D. (cf. Bailey, « BSOS », 8, 1154).

*RAŠDAUMA*: *\*rāštā-va(h)va-*; cf. *Rašdauka*, *Širauka*, and for the *m*, the discussion s.v. *Ziššawiš*.

*Radamesa* (1). B. reconstructs *\*raθa-vaisa-*, adding the rider: "mais él. —s— ne rend pas normalement ir. —s—". This is surely an understatement, as it never does, except perhaps through a scribal blunder. On the other hand any Ir. intervocalic *s* can appear in OP as *θ*, for which El. *s* is one of the two normal symbols, the other being *t*, so that *\*mesa* could indeed stand for Ir. *\*vaisa-*, namely by representing OP *\*vaiθa-* < *\*vaisa-*. What is much more risky, in fact I believe unparalleled, is B.'s assumption that in this name El. *da* renders Ir. *θa*. It is true that if B. were right in his treatment of *Bakuratsa* as a form "identique" with *Bakurada* (var. *-kaur-*), the value *θa*, inter alia, of El. *da*, would be assured, seeing that El. *at-sa* means, to so speak, *\*aθ-θa*, i.e. OP *āθā* (cf. *Atsarma* and *Hamaratsa*). But in that case *Bak(a)urada* could not represent *\*baga-wrāda-* as B. wants. Hence either both *Bak(a)urada* and *Bakuratsa* stand for *\*baga-wrāθa-* "enjoying Baga's friendship" (to Av. *urvāθā-*, cf. « JAOS » 79 [1959], 198 sq.) or, as seems much safer to assume, only *Bakuratsa* does, *Bak(a)urada* representing, as Cameron first saw (*PTT*, 151), the OP variant (i.e., with B., *\*baga-wrāda-*) of the name (viz. *\*baga-wrāza-*) which in Greek appears as βαγόραζος. For *Radamesa* it would then be better to invent a phonetically less dubious Ir. original, say *\*rāda-vaiθa-* "having willing servants", to Av. *vaēsa-* "Knecht" and *rādah-* "Sichbereitsstellen".

*Ratininda*. The name of this treasurer made famous by Cameron (see *PTT*, 161 sq.) occurs in a variety of spellings, including *Ratinda*, *Uratinda*, and *Rumatenda*, see Hallock, « JNES »



9 (1950), 246 n. 38, and 19 (1960), 90 sq.<sup>1</sup>. To account for them all one may postulate a compound having as first term a locative *\*wrādi* of a root-noun synonymous with Av. *urvādah-* "joy", and as second term *\*ni-hinda-* "sitting, dwelling". *Ratinda* (etc.) = *\*wrādi-hinda-* would then be an allegro-form of *Rati-ninda* = *\*wrādi-nihinda-* "dwelling in joy". With this interpretation the name would provide the earliest attestation of the pres. stem presupposed by Bal. *nind-* (see Morgenstierne, «BSL» 1924, 208). For *\*wrād-* cf. *Bak(a)urada* in the preceding entry, and *Uratezza*.

**Radupir** (1) looks like a defective rendering of what in Av. is *ratu-frī-*, cf. *Irdumya* and *Rakanda*.

*Ratešda*, see *Rasākurda*.

**Radāya** (1): *\*rādaya-* "preparing", retrenched from *\*rād-aya(t)-karša-* (cf. *Yt* 4.9) or sim.

**RAUZAKA/RAWIZZAKA** and **Ruzzakka** (var. *-zik-*): *\*rau-čaka-*, to Av. *raočah-* "bright, light", or to NP *rōzeh* "fasting", Pahl. *hwcg*, Man. MP *rwcg* (v. Henning, «BSOS» 8 [1936], 587 sq.)? Cf. *Rauzazza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Razmizana**: *\*razma-čana-* "longing for battle".

**Raziya**: *\*rāzya-*, patronymic extension, with vriddhi, of *\*raza-*, a name retrenched from the occupational designation which in El. appears as *razakara* "vineyard worker" (see *AM*, II, 1951, 137), used as pr. n.

**Rauzazza** (var. *-zi-*), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**SAKTIZZA**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Sukizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Sāmaezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Subakka** (1): *\*č(a)upaka-* "the log", to NP *čōb* "log, wood, stick".

<sup>1</sup> [In a recent letter Hallock sums up the data as follows: "As addressee and treasurer in letters his name is written *Ra-tin-in-da*, with variants *Ra-tin-da* (PT 59) and *Ra-te-in-da* (PT 75). As *šaramana* person in memoranda (never with title treasurer, but the *šaramana* person in memoranda always is the treasurer) his name is always written *Ū-ra-tin-da*. The *Ū-ra-[tin]-da* in PT 3 a, with var. *Ru-ma-te-[i]n-da* (PT 3), is not necessarily the same person. Nor is the scribe *Ū-ra-te-en-da* (PT 15, 16, 18, 19, as well as «JNES» 17 [1958], 173). In all forms with *U* the sign is *ú*, not *u*."]

**Supra**: *\*θubra-* "radiant" ~ Ved. *śubhrá*.

**Saddamišša**, see *Šadamiša*.

**Suzza** (1) (fem.): *\*θučā-* "the pure", to Ved. *śucá*.

*Šakka* = *\*saka-* is interpreted as "the Scythian" by Cameron and B., but in view of the abundance of animal names in the list may well mean "dog". Cf. s.v. *Ušbaka* and see *Šakiš*.

*Šukakara* (1), cf. *Appišuka*.

**Šukra** (1) ~ Av. *suxra-* "red".

*Šukurna*, see s.v. *Šarukba*.

**Šakiš** (1): *\*saki-*, patronymic of *Šakka* (q.v.).

*Šakšaka*, see *Šaššaka*.

**Šak(k)izza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Šimaka**: *\*siva-ka-* "the benevolent", to Ved. *śivá*, or *\*sim-aka-* "the confused, muddle-headed", to *Šimamira*. Alternatively *\*saivaka-* "the orphan", see *Sāmaezza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Šimamira** (?) (1): *\*šima-vīra-* "whose memory is confused", to Av. *sima-*, Sogd. *sym* (see B., *TSP*, 180) and Av. *\*vīra-* (see Bailey, «JRAS» 1934, 511, and Henning, *Sogdica* 52).

**Šimdumuka** (1), see *Šintukka*.

**Šumizakka** (1): either *\*šāvaya(t)-zāga-* "raising (*lit.* making audible) his voice" or *\*šavya-zāga-* "having a loud (*lit.* audible) voice", with the first component corresponding either to the Av. pres. stem *srāvaya-*, or to Skt *śravya* "audible". The second component belongs to Oss. *zæyin* "to say", NP *zāy* "crow" (v. Bailey, «TPhS» 1945, 37), and Man. MP *zgr* "tone, tune". See *Uzakka*, *Takkauka*, and *Dakabadda*.

**Šinkatanna** (1): *\*sing|katāna-*, patron. of *\*sing|kata-* (> Sogd. *syngt*) "jujube" (cf. Bailey, «BSOAS» 19 [1957], 56).

**Šintukka** (1) = *Šimdumuka* = *\*sintū-vahu-ka-* "good dancer", cf. *Tindabada*?

*Šandupirzana* (var. *Tan-*). Since this is evidently the same name as *Dandupirdana* (1) (*Dantu*<sup>o</sup> apud B. is an oversight), the *t* of the variant *Tan*<sup>o</sup> cannot stand for *θ* (as is usual whenever El. shows an alternation *š*:*t*), and we have here indeed *zantu-*/*\*dantu-* as B. queringly suggests. In initial position, therefore, El. *ša* can represent Ir. *za* (cf. *Šašturdapirda*; also after *r*, to judge from the variant *ša* of *Battikurza*). The second component, which ends in OP *-āna-* (not *-ana-* as B. has it), is the same as in *Irda-*

*pirzana* and *Napapartanna*, which B. correctly identifies with *Ἀρτοβα[ρ]ζάνης* and *Ναβαρζάνης* respectively, comparing with the latter Mithras's title *Nabarzes*. What one misses apud B. is a translation, and the conclusion that *Nabarzes*, being the shortest form, and still virtually an adjective, gives us the basic names, viz. *\*Zantu-byza-*, *\*Rta-byza-*, and *\*Nabā-byza-* "he who exalts (to Av. *\*baraz-*), = thanks to whom are in an exalted position, the tribe, Truth, the clan", of which the *-āna-* extensions at Persepolis and elsewhere are mere patronymics. The same explanation of course applies to *Harripirta(n)* (1), *Mitraparza(na)* (1), and *Šatipartanna* (1) (all apud B.), on which cf. also Bailey, «TPHS» 1959, 74. [See *Hiyaukapirša*, and *Da'uṣirtanna*].

*Širakka* (1) (fem.), see s.v. *Širadamma*.

*Širauka* (1), *Širukka* (1): *\*širā-va(h)uka-*, *-ka-* extension of the OP equivalent of Av. *srīrāvayhu-* (pr. n.) "καλοκαγαθός". On this type of name see Bth. s.v. *māzdrāvayhu-*; to it belong also *Attiyauka*, *Ramiyauka*, and *Rašdauka* with the thematic extension *Rašdauma*, conceivably also *Harbauka*. The El. spelling of Ir. *vahu-* in these names (as well as in *Takkauka*, *Abauka*, and *Hindauka*) compares with the ones discussed s.v. *Ziššawiš*. For the *-ukka* of *Širukka* cf. *Ammukka* (same type of compound), *Hindukka* (beside *\*dauka* and *\*tamukka*), *Mukka*, perhaps *Šadukka*, and *Minduka*. [See also *Ziššukka*, and *Šintukka*].

*Šarukba*, and *Šuruba* (1): *\*sā-rupa-* "fox-dog" ~ Av. *spā urupiš* in *Vend.* 5.33. For the nominative juxtaposition cf. *Našpanda*; for *\*sā* cf. *Išba* and see s.v. *Ušbaka*. This name makes it virtually certain that Yima's successor in the Avesta, *Urupi-* (the later *Thmwrp* of *Gt Bd* 211.8, *Ṭahmūraθ* of the *Šāh Nāme*) was simply called after the animal *urupi-*, as indeed B. suggests (s.v. *Šukurna* (1) ~ Av. *sukurəna-* "porcupine") without reference to the present name, but on valid grounds of commonsense.<sup>1</sup>

*ŠIRAPARNA*: *\*šira-farna(h)-* "whose Fortune is beautiful", see s.v. *Širadamma*.

*Sarišda*, if its *šd* stands for Ir. *st* (differently B.), looks like a possible ancestor of Man. Sogd. *s'rst* "magnificent, noble,

<sup>1</sup> [Karl Hoffmann has meanwhile put the dot on the *i* by showing beyond doubt that Urupi's epithet *azinavant-* means "Fellträger", «MSS» 22 (1967), 31].

*pulcher, decorus*" (Henning, *Sogdica* 30 sq.), spelled *s'r'st* in Sogd. script (*TM* 389 a V 3). OIr. *\*sāra(i)-stā-* "standing ahead"?

*Širadamma* (1) does very likely, as B. says, correspond to an Av. *\*srīratama-* (although El. *damma* may alternatively reproduce OP *taumā-* "family", cf. *Kammada* above), just as *Širakka* (1) (fem.), also apud B., would be in Av. *\*srīrakā-* (cf. also *Širaparna* and *Širauka* above). But these are not mere cases of "simplification du groupe initial". They represent the strictly phonological development which in the OP inscriptions is exemplified only by *niyašārayam* (Kent, para. 94), El. *š* corresponding here, as well as in *Šešda*, *Ušira*, *Miššanapa* (perhaps), and in the names quoted s.v. *Šuddayauda*, to OP *š* < OP *\*θr* < proto-Ir. *\*sr*.

*Šaušā* (1). For the final *ā* cf. *Pišā*, *Puraya*, and *Yaunā*. Interpreted as *\*saušiya-* the name could be identified with Av. *sraošyā-* "(deserving) punishment". If this seems semantically harsh one might reconstruct *\*sraošya-* as a patronymic, or derivative of allegiance, of *Sraoša-*, the name of the Avestan god of Discipline. There is however a far more interesting, if somewhat daring, alternative. We know that beside Av. *fšuyant-*, younger forms corresponding to which, such as Khot. *kšundaa-* and Khwar. *fynd*, mean "husband", OIr. had *\*fšuya-* (a stem coinciding with, and perhaps built on, the voc. *fšuya* of *fšuyant-*, as it occurs in *Vend.* 18.21), which is preserved in Yd *šəfə* "husband" (cf. *Morgenstierne* s.v.). On this pattern a stem *\*saušya-*, alternative to Av. *saošyant-* "saviour", can reasonably be postulated, and is in fact presupposed by the interpretation given in Andreas-Henning, *Mir. Man.* III, 907, of Parth. *šwǝj* "heilig". The absence of the *-ant-* suffix appears to have a parallel also in *Parnuma* and perhaps *Baddumaka* (qq.v.). One may then suppose that just as beside *Parnuma* we have the *-unda* names listed s.v. *Bakunda*, so beside *\*saušya-* a western Ir. form *\*saušant-a-* almost identical with Av. *saošyant-*, is represented by the name *Šušanda* (1). The appearance of El. *šan* in place of expected *\*šīyan*, *\*šen*, *\*šan*, could be thought to have a parallel in the occasional appearance before nasal of *šə* in Avestan, instead of expected *ši* < *šya*, see the four examples in point quoted by Bth., col. 1814, s.v. *hindav-*.

*ŠAŠŠAKKA*: *\*xšašaka-*, a spelling alternative to *Šakšaka* (apud B.), whose first *k*, one would like to think, stands before

the second *š* for no better reason than its inability to stand before the first (cf. *Šušturrakka* and *Šāda*).

**Šušanda** (1), see s.v. *Šaušā*.

**Šešda:** \**šaišta-* ~ Av. *sraēšta-* "the most beautiful", cf. s.v. *Širadamma*.

*Šušturrakka* (1) is surely not "identique à *Ukšušturra*", but the latter shows that the former has initial *xš* (cf. s.v. *Šaššakka*). To my mind *Šušturrakka* stands for \**xšaustraka-*, a *-ka-* extension of the second component of Av. *fəra-xšaotra-* "Vorwärtsfliessen", no doubt retrenched from some compound, perhaps the very *Ukšušturra*, which is now comfortably analyzed as \**hu-xšaustra-*, "having good *xšaustra*". Seeing that the related Av. *xšudra-* means "semen virile", would it be far-fetched to assign this meaning also to OP \**xšaustra-*?

*Šašturdapirda* (1). B's attempt to find here and in *Zašturzadda* (1) Indo-Aryan instead of Iranian forms of the numeral "4" carries little conviction. [Hallock now thinks (cf. above, p. 169 n. 2) that the correct reading may be *Šašturdadda* (°*da-ud-da* instead of °*da-pir-da*; the relevant tablet is in Teheran), since what appears to be the same man is called *Šaššardadda* (*Ša-iš-ša-ir-da-ad-da*) in another tablet; *Zašturzadda* quite likely also refers to him according to Hallock. Hence \**čaštṛ-dāta-* (°*zāta-*) "born of a teacher, teacher's son" (to Av. *kaš-* "to teach")? This seems preferable to \**sāstṛ-dāta-* "born of a ruler", in view of the appearance of El. initial *ša* for expected *za* in *Šandupirzana* (q.v.), the reverse of which, *za* for *ša*, does not seem to be attested. *Šaššardadda* may represent a demotic \**čaštṛ-dāta-*, in which *t* suffered dissimilatory loss against the following *-d-t-*].

**Šuaštiya** (1) suggests \**šāvastiya-*, a (patronymic?) derivative of \**srāvasta-* ~ Skt *śrāvasta(ka)*.

*Šāda* (which B. mistakes for Ir. *š(y)āta-* "happy"; the Daiva inscription on which he relies has *šad(d)a*) and **Šedda** would be well accounted for as representing \**xšaita-* (Av. *xšaēta-*) "illustrious" (for this compromise translation cf. *AHM* 331), which also occurs as second component of *Yamakšedda* (q.v.). The rendering of initial OP *xš* by El. *š* would be as in *Šatrabama* (1) = *xšaθra-pāva(n)-* (apud B.), cf. also *Šaššakka* and *Šušturrakka* above. It must be admitted, however, that *Šāda* and *Šedda* would

also be predictable renderings of OP \**saita-* ~ Av. *spaēta-* "white".

*Šudda* and *Šudak(k)a*, see s.v. *Šuddayaunda*.

**Šaddukka** (1) (fem.) resembles Sogd. *š'twx* "happy", originally "happy-minded". Does the El. spelling therefore represent a name \**šāta-ahū-kā-*, formed like *Harbauka* (q.v.)? On the other hand, qua \**šātā-vahu-kā-* "happy (and) good", *Šaddukka*, just like *Harbauka*, would comfortably fall into the *Širauka*/*Širukka* pattern (q.v.). For El. *du* representing *tāu* (either from *tāhū* or as a strong contraction of *tāva(h)u*) see *Udusana* and cf. s.v. *Mukka*.

**Šudukka** (1), see *Tutukka*.

*Šadamiša*: the variant is *Saddamišša*, not *Ša°* as B. quotes it. *Šada* stands for \**sata-*, *Sadda* for \**ṣata-*. If an equivalent of Av. *satavaēsa-* (= the star Antares) were intended, as B. doubtfully suggests, one might expect, as the name occurs more than once, a variant with *me* or *mā*. Why not \**sata-visa-* "having a hundred houses"?

**Šudumada** (1): \**šutā-māta-* "having a famous mother", with thematization as in Skt *gārgī-māta* (Wn. II<sup>1</sup> 96); cf. *Dakmapida* and see s.v. *Šuddayaunda*.

*Šuddayaunda*, under which lemma B. also quotes *Šudda* and *Šudak(k)a*: not = \**š(y)ūta-*, which provides an unsatisfactory meaning. The compound may be \**šūta-yāuda-* "striving for profit"; cf. «BSOAS» 14 (1952), 487 n. 2 for "striving", and above, *Maušudda* and *Ramišudda*, for "profit". As to *Šud(d)-a(k[k]a)*, this may correspond to Av. *srūta-* "famous, renowned", cf. s.v. *Širadamma*; the base *sru-* also in *Tarkašawiš* and *Tarkašuma* below, as well as in *Šumizakka*; see also *Šudumada*, *Šut(t)ezza* s.v. *Atpizza*, and *Šuaštiya*. Cf. *Hinda*.

**Šut(t)ezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*Šiyama* (1) = \**syāma-* "noir" (B.). Alternatively, of course, = \**syāva-*, also "black". Here the dialectologically important **Tiyama** should have been quoted, which represents the OP form \**θyāva-* that has been postulated for the sake of Arm. *šau* and Bal. *šā* (see «TPHS» 1964, 5 sq. and 18 n. 2).

**Šiyāna** (var. *-aena*): \**syaina-* ~ Av. *saēna-* "eagle" (and pr. n.), with noteworthy preservation of the *y* of its Ved. cognate *śyenā* (cf. Bailey, «BSOAS» 20 [1957], 59). The Avestic *Saēna*

was a distinguished teacher of Zoroāstra's doctrine in the first half of the fifth century B. C.

*Šiyatizza*, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Dakka**. Several possibilities, ranging from the Av. (*Aži-*) *Dahāka-* (who may be simply "the huge", cf. Pašto *lōe*), to "man" (see Bailey, «TPHS» 1959, 108 sqq.), down to *\*taka-* "runner" (?), *\*daga-* "bald" (Av. *daya-*, see B., *Asiatica, Festschrift Weller*, 32 sq.), or even *\*dāga-* < *\*zāga-* "saying, crow" (cf. *Dakabadda* and *Šumizakka*). See *Dakaka*.

*Dāhiwukka* (var. *-hikka*), *Dāyakka* (var. *-yauka*), *Da'uka* (+ vars.), = *Δηόκης*, Akkad. *Dayaukku* (apud. B). Hallock's list includes a further variant of the name, **Teyauka** (1). The El. spellings support Bth's suggestion (col. 1395) that Deioces's name had the same formation as OP *Vahauka-*. In that case, however, the formation was hardly hypocoristic, as Bth. and Kent believed. The appearance of the strong stem of *dahyu-* in *\*Dahyauka-* rather points to adjectivization of a noun. Bearing in mind what has been said above s.v. *Apšudāhuš*, one may venture the guess that *\*dahyauka-* meant "fee-holder, feudal lord" (reflecting perhaps a terminology still current in the period of Median hegemony), and therefore *vahauka-* "a holder of goods, possessions".

**Dakaka** (1): *-ka-* extension of *Dakka* (q.v.).

**Takkauka** (1) is shown by the variant *Zakkamka* of *Zakamukka* (q.v.), as well as by *Dakamanuš* below, to stand, with *d < z*, for either *\*daga(t)-vahu-ka-* "he who says what is good", or *\*dāgā-vahu-ka-* "having a good voice", with inversion of the usual word-order as in *\*čišā-vahu-* (see *Ziššawiš* and s.v. *Rašdama*) against *\*vahu-čiša-* (El. *Mauzišša*). Cf. *Šumizakka*, *Uzakka*, *Dakka*, and *Dakabadda*, as well as, in respect of *\*-vahuka-*, *Širauka*. *Dakma*, see *Dama*.

**DAKAMANUŠ** (fem.): *\*dāgā-vayhū-*, fem. of *\*vayhu-*, the nazalized and suffixless variant of *Takkauka* (q.v.). The feminization of an *u*-stem by transfer into the *ū*-stem inflection is familiar from the RV (see Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup> 493), but was hitherto thought not to occur in Old Iranian (see ibid. 495). The present, safe example, makes it likely that Av. *agrū-* is morphologically another, even though its use as a fem. must have originally preceded the masc. usage of the RV. [Cf. s.v. *Zikkuku*].

*Takmabara* (1), whose second component B. leaves unexplained, may represent *\*taxma-bāra-* "owner of a valiant mount", cf. Pahl. *bārak*, NP *bāreh* "horse, mount".

**DAKMAPIDA**: *\*taxma-pita-* "having a valiant father" (with thematization), cf. Av. *vayhu-fədrī-*, fem. pr. n., "having a good father". See *Šudumada*.

*Takmaziya* is interpreted by B. as *\*taxma-fya-* "à l'arc vaillant". But *fya-* means "bow-string", not "bow", and *taxma-* does not suit either. Perhaps "living valiantly", thematization of *\*fī-*, cf. Av. *ərəž-fī-*, *yavaē-fī-*. Cf. *Ziya*.

**DAKABADDA**: *\*dāga-pāda-* (with *d < z*) "crowfoot" (plant name), to NP *zāy*. Cf. *Dakka* and *Šumizakka*.

**Tukrizziya** (var. *-raziya*): ethnic derivative in *-čiya-* (cf. OP *Ākaufāčiya-*) of the *-a-* stem toponym written *Tukraš* in *PTT*, see Cameron, p. 199.

**Takšena**. Alternatively to *\*taxša-* (thus B., who reconstructs *\*taxšaina-*) one may think of a patronymic in *-āyana-* of *\*daxša-* "throwing", cf. Av. *fradaxšanā-* "sling". This, at any rate, is the base which best accounts for NP *andāxtan* "to throw".

**DAMA** ~ Av. *dahma-* "doctus" or *taxma-* "valiant". In the latter case cf. *Dakma* (1) (fem.) = *\*taxmā-* (apud B.).

**Dauma** (1): *\*tau(x)ma-*, retrenched from a compound containing OP *taumā-* (< *\*tauxm<sup>o</sup>*) "family" (cf. *Širadamma?*) or *tauman-* "strength".

**Tamka**: *\*tauka-* "offspring", see *Nappatamka*.

**DAMMAMA**: *\*ta(x)ma-ama-* "valiant (and) strong", a compound of the *Širauka* type.

**Tammašba**. OP *\*tumāšpa-*, which B. wishes to recognize in this name, would hardly have been so written. To my mind the El. spelling represents *\*ta(x)ma-aspa-* "having valiant horses", cf. s.v. *Rašdama*.

**DUMITAMKA**: *\*dvi-tauka-* "twin", cf. *Tamka?* See *Ammitmanya*.

**Tandukka** (1). On the *Addenda* slip to his book B. rightly withdraws his explanation as *\*θandu-ka-* of this name in favour of *\*dantuka-* (to Av. *zantu-*), but does not refer to the actually attested **Zandukka** (1).

*Dandupirdana*, see *Šandupirzana*.

*Tandupirzana*, see *Šandupirzana*.

**Tindabada** (1): \*θind|ta-pāda- "dance-foot", to Oss. *simd* (Dig. *sind*), cf. *Šintukka*?

**Tanduša** (1): haplogy of \*dantu-dušta- (Av. \*zantu-zušta-) "tribe's darling".

**Dabara**: \*dāfara-, palatal delta variant of *Zabbara* (q.v.), unless indeed this is the "axe" word (\*tapara-, cf. «BSOAS» 14, [1952], 485 n. 1) forming a name of the *Aššašturrana* type.

**Da'upirna** (1): \*dahyu-farnah- = Δαιφάρνης.

*Da'upirtanna* (1). No decision seems possible between ranging this name with those listed s.v. *Šandupirzana*, as B. does (p. 98), and identifying it with Av. *daiḥhu.frādana-* (cf. the Av. pr. n. *daiḥhufrādah-*), in which case cf. s.v. *Pirradawiš*.

**DABAUŠA**: \*tāpa(t)-auša- "lip-twister", to NP *tābīdan*, *tāftan* "to twist" and Av. *aoštra* (dual) "lips"? OP \*auša- < \*auštra- like *uša-* "camel" < \*uštra-.

**Darkama** (?) (1) and **Turkama** (?) (1) represent perhaps \*dar(ga)-gava- "Longimanus", cf. Av. *darəγō.gava-* and see the next four entries. Note, if this explanation is correct, the non-daēvic use of *gav-* (cf. also Khot. *gōštā*, Bailey, «BSOAS» 13 [1951], 931), which would make it possible to recognize here the OP original of Artaxerxes I's nickname *μακρόχειρ*.

**TARKENA**: \*dargāyana-, patron. of a retrenched name \*darga- "long". See the next three entries, and *Darkama*.

*Tarkāwiš* (+ vars.). B. unnecessarily doubts (under his entry *Tarkašawiš*) Cameron's excellent identification of this name with Av. *darəγāyu-*. El. *ā* is a regular representation (though not the only one) of Ir. *āi* (cf. *dāma* for Ir. *daiva-*).

*Tarkašuma*, see the next entry.

*Tarkašawiš* (?) (1) and *Tarkašuma* (1). Of these two names, whose second components B. considers "indéterminable", the first represents \*darga-sru- "of long fame, far-renowned" in its dehnform nom. sg. °srāuš (cf. GAv. *xšnāuš* to °xšnu-, and above s.v. *Ammasuzawiš*), the second \*darga-srava(h)- ~ RV *dirghá-śravas*. Cf. *Maušuma* and *Ušsuma*, and, for El. *š* = OP *š* < *sr*, *Šuddayauda* and *Širadamma*.

**TARMA**: OP *druwa-* "well, safe and sound", so transposed into El. in Beh. para. 55.

**TIRIMA** (fem.): \*θrimā-, retrenched name, fem. to Av. *θrima-* "nourishment".

**TURMEBADA**: \*drāvaya(t)-pāda- "swift-footed", lit. "speeding the feet", cf. RV *drāvayāt-sakha-*. Cf. *Akšimašra* and *Šumizakka*.

**TURRUMAŠBADA** confirms *Turmašbada* (?) (1) = \*druva-spāda- (apud B.), from which Hallock states in his supplementary list that the query should be deleted.

**Turmišduma** (var. **Dura-**): \*druviš(ta)-tama- "he who is in most excellent health", with the superlative suffix -tama- added to the superlative \*druvišta- (cf. Ved. *nēdiṣṭhatama*), the long-postulated ancestor of NP *durust*, Pahl. *druyist*, Parth. *druwšt* (see Henning, «GGA» 1935, 3). For the haplogy cf. *Umišduma*.

**Tarmiya** (1): \*darmaya-, palatal delta variant to *Zarmekka* (q.v.).

**TURMIZZA**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Turpiš** (var. **Tir-**): *i*-patronymic of a retrenched name \*tṛpa-, cf. RV *tṛpāt* "which pleasure, to one's satisfaction".

**Turribadda**: \*θri-pāda- "three-legged", presumably because walking with a stick. Here also **TURRU-B-BADA** (?)?

*Da'urisa* (+ vars.). B. rightly equates with Δαυρίσης, but leaves unexplained. The El. spelling represents \*dahyu-wr(a)itha-, the OP form of Av. *daiḥhāurvaēsa-* "moving up and down the country".

**Turдуманнуš** (?) (1): \*dṛda-vayhu- "herzensgut"? Cf. NP *dil*, and see s.v. *Irtammanmuwiš*.

*Dariyawiš* (apud B.), see s.v. *Ziššawiš*.

**DARIYAYABBA**: \*dāraya(t)-yāfa- "holder of \*boons", cf. OP *dāraya(t)-vahu-* "holder of goods". The second component I take to belong to Av. *āyapta-* "boon", the base of which is *yam-* (see Henning, «GGA» 1935, 13, and Bailey, *Oriental Studies* ... Pavry, 23). If this interpretation is correct, \*yāfa- will be the earliest example of the interchange of *m* and *f* discussed by Bailey, which in intervocalic position is most clearly attested in the Parth. pres. stem *wf-* "to spit", from the base *vam-*.

**Darazza** (?) (1) and *Darizza*. see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Tešaka**: \*daisa-ka- "builder", to MP *dys-*, Sogd. *δys-* "to build" (see Henning, *BBB* p. 56, bottom), Oss. (Dig.) *fāldesun* "to create" (distinct from *fāldesun* "to dedicate to the dead", which belongs to *dais-* "to show").

*Duškamda* (1) (not -mta as printed apud B.): \*duš-xauda-

"ill-tempered, ill-mannered, vicious" (differently B.). Cf. NP *bad-xōy*, idem, the etymology of whose second component is now given. NP *xōy* (with  $y < d$ ) and *xō* (with loss of  $h < d$ ) means "habit, disposition, temper, nature". Clearly therefore OP *xauda-*, Av. *xaoda-* "cap" is a specialization of "habit, dress, wear", as Bailey had already assumed on the strength of the Khot. verb *prahauy-* "to put on, wear" in «AcOr» 30 (1966), 27. See *Parrukuzziš*.

**Duśmurda** (1): \**duš-vṛta-* "the irresistible", cf. Ved. *durvārtu. Tiśśantamma* (1), see s.v. *Zitrantakma*.

**Dadda**: "law", "given", "born"? Retrenched name, cf. *Dat(t)ezza* s.v. *Atpizza*, and *Dadaka* apud B.

**Datukka** (+ vars.): \**dātā-va(h)u-ka-* "born good", see s.v. *Dadumanya*.

**Teatukka** and **Tetukka** (treated in *PTT* 130 as El., but see above s.v. *Muška*): OP \**θaiθūka-* "partridge". Cf. NP *tīhū*, Pahl. *tyhwk*, Brahui *sēsū*, on which more elsewhere.

**Dutukka** (var. -*tt*-): \**dūta-va(h)u-ka-* "belonging to a good family", cf. NP *dūdeh*, Pahl. *dūtak* "family"? Cf. \**čišā-vahu-* s.v. *Rašdama* for the word-order, and *Šir(a)uk(k)a-* for \**ukka*. Note the Iranian calque in Armenian, where *cux* "smoke" also means "family"; NP *dūdeh* and *dūdman* "family" belong, or are thought to belong, to NP (etc.) *dūd* "smoke".

**Tutukka** (1) is either another spelling of the preceding name, or the palatal theta variant of **Šudukka** (1) = \**suduka-* "mill-er" (?), to Av. *sudū-* "mill" (?).

*Dadumanya* "déjà attesté à Bisutun pour v.p. *Dātuwahya*" (thus B.). The *n* of the El. spelling has induced Mayrhofer to propose an emendation of Kent's *Dāt[u]vahyahyā* to *Dāt[u]-vanyahyā* (see above, p. 171 n. 1). But the fact is that the Akkad. rendering of the name, *za'-tu'-a*, also shows no *n*. Clearly therefore the *n* which appears in *Dadumanya* was optional, the second component of the OP name being an original *vahya-* that alternated with a secondary *vayhya-*. This component is then likely to be the comparative of *vahu-* "good", which in Av. occurs both as *vahyah-* and *vayhah-* (standing for \**vayhyah-*), with the thematization to which -*ah-* stems were often subjected in composition. Now, the *u* of *Dāt[u]vahya-* is completely restored, and of the preceding consonant Cameron wrote

that "repeated examination gave no assurance that it was not *ta* rather than *tu*" («JCS» 5, 52). Moreover the name is spelled *Daddamanya* in *PTT* (see p. 93), which would be a highly irregular way of rendering \**dātuwa*. It is well-known that in composition with words beginning with *v* a final *a* of the first component was often lengthened. Accordingly there is no objection to restoring the OP form of the name as *Dāt[ā]vahya-*, and a good deal of support from *Daddamanya*. And since in Akkad. the name begins with *z*, its general Iranian form will have been \**zātā-vahya(h)-* "the one born better", a name coined perhaps as an improvement on, and therefore presupposing the existence of, \**zātā-vahu-* "born good", which accordingly, extended by the suffix -*ka-*, I feel inclined to recognize in **Zatukka** (1) and, with  $d < z$ , **Datukka** (+ vars.). Other names that probably ended in \**va(y)hya(h)-* are *Bakumanya-*, *Ammumanya*, [*Midamanya*,] *Attemanya* (qq. v.).

*Dadamišša* (1). The second component of OP *Va(h)umisa-*, which B. suggests is here present, may belong to Oss. *imis-*, MP *wmyh-*, on which see «BSOAS» 14 (1952), 486 (where add MP *w(y)mys* "fabrication, invention; mirage"). The meaning "to compose, invent, devise" of this verb permits the interpretation of OIr. \**vi-misa-* as corresponding semantically to Germ. *aus-denken*, and therefore of the uncompounded \**misa-* as meaning "thinking". The first component, *dada*, may in this name represent Ir. *dāta-* "law", so that the compound will mean "thinking of the law, remembering it, law-minded", cf. *Harbamišša* and *Irdamišša* above, and *Miššezza*, *Mitezza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Dattanna** (var. **Daddana**): \**dātāna-*, patron. of *Dadda* (q.v.).

*Datena* (+ vars.) is not = \**dātaina-* with suffixation as in Av. *hama-nāfaēna-* (thus B.), but = \**dātāyana-*, patronymic of *Dadda* (q.v.).

*Dat(t)ezza*, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Teyauka** (1), see *Dāhiwukka*.

**Tiyama**, see s.v. *Šiyama*.

*DAZIŠ*: \**tači-*, patronymic of \**tača-* "running".

**Tuzaza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Ukakka**: \**hu-kāhaka-* "having a beautiful palace", cf. NP *kāx* "palace", Sogd. *k'γk-* "palate", see Henning, *Sogdica* 6, and B., *TSP* 211. Cf. *Kakka*.

**Uk(k)ama:** \**hu-kāma-* “well-wisher”, or \**hu-gāma-* “striding beautifully” (to Av. *gāman-*).

**Ukbakurna** (var. *-karna*): \**upa-karna-* “one who is close to the ear (= ear-whisperer, informer)”; cf. Skt *upakarṇam* “close to the ear”.

**UKBAMA**, the same as *Ubbama*.

**Ukbaema** (?) (1): \**upa-haiva-* “the respectful”, cf. Skt *upasevate* and see *Ušema*.

**Ukpunda:** thematic extension of \**hu-pāvant-* “protecting well”; cf. Av. *pavant-* and see above s.vv. *Kampumanda* and *Bakunda*. Cf. also *Hubakka*.

**Ukpiš**, see *Upiš*.

**Ukbateya** (var. *-tiya*), see *Ubat(t)iya*.

**UKBAYA-U-NA** (?): \**upa-yauna-* “traveller”, lit. “one who is en route”, or perhaps U. was born en route. On *yauna-* cf. *AHM* 207 sq. and Henning, *Mitteliranisch* 104 n. 6.

**Ukbeza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**UKURRADUŠ** ~ Av. *hu-xratu-* “of good insight”.

**Ukšumaturra** (1). B.’s explanation as \*(*h*)uš-(*h*)vāθra- is acceptable in principle, but since El. *h* is clearly attested as silent only before *b*, and *turra* for *θra* entitles us to reckon with a dialect form in which, as in Av., the *h* of *hv* had hardened to *x*, I would prefer to reconstruct an Ir. form identical with what in Av. would be \**huš.x<sup>o</sup>āθra-*, and assume that this was metathesized to \**huxšvāθra-*.

*Ukšusturra*, see above s.v. *Šušturraka*.

**Umi** (1): \**haumī*, nom sg., < \**haumya<sup>h</sup>* (cf. Av. *naire*, nom. sg. of *nairya-*, and see above s.v. *Manyāškurra*), of the stem which in Av. appears as *haomya-* “zum Haoma gehörig”, in Ved. as *somyá* “a Soma-offerer”? Initial *u* for a diphthong as in El. *Uramasda* for *A(h)uramazdāh-*. Cf. *Umeizza* s.v. *Atpizza*. See *Humakurda*.

**Umak(k)a**, and **Umakka** (1) (fem.): \**hu-maxa-* ~ RV *sú-mak-ha*? The latter has been variously translated as “kampftüchtiger Held”, “very gay”, and “freigebig”, see Mayrhofer II, 543.

**Humakurda** (1): \**hauma-gīta-* “Haoma-sipper”? If so, the base of the second component would be *gar-*, which at its only occurrence in Avestan has Haoma as its object, cf. Bth., col. 810, s.v. *Ōrīsarəm*. See *Umi*.

**Umanna** and **Ummanna** correspond to Av. *hu-manah-* “he who is in good spirit” (*Yt* 10.34), with thematization.

**Ummannana:** \**humanāna-*, patron. of *Umanna*.

**Umartamna** (1), conflated by B. with *Umartanna* (q.v.), is a distinct name which may represent \**hu-vartauna-* “having a good chariot”. \**vartauna-* would be the long-sought ancestor of NP *gardūn* “chariot” (see Hübschmann, *Np. St.* 92). Its suffix would agree with that of Ved. *duroṇá* (Wn.-Debr. II<sup>2</sup> 514). Beside it OIr. had \**varta-* and \**vartana-*, see the next entry.

**Umartanna** (1). B.’s quotation is “*Umartanna (-tamna)*”, but in Hallock’s list *Umartamna* (1) appears as a distinct name (see the preceding entry). The present name may indeed be \**hu-vartana-* as B. thinks (although other interpretations are equally possible), but in that case why translate “au bon tour (de char)”? “Au bon char” would be what is wanted, seeing that OIr. \**vartana-* “chariot” is assured by Sogd. *wrtm*. Perhaps the individual called *Umartanna* was a Sogdian, or at any rate hailed from further east than the speakers of Avestan (who said *vāša-* < \**varta-* for “chariot”), while *Umartamna* was a proper Persian namesake of his. Cf. the ethnic speculations s.v. *Miza-pirzaka*. Unfortunately there is nothing to show that *Umartanna* does not represent \**hu-vartāna-*, patronymic of \**hu-varta-* “au bon char”. Cf. *Piršamarda*.

**Umiša** (var. *Humišša*) is plausibly considered by B. “la forme perse répondant à *Umitra* (1)”, but no translation is given. Perhaps \**hu-miša-* / *hu-miθra-* meant “the friendly”, cf. NP *mīhr* (see *AHM* 41 n. 3).

**UMIŠDA:** \**hu-vista-* “well found” (Av. base *<sup>2</sup>vāēd-*), of a foundling. Cf. *Umišduma*.

**Umišduma** (+ vars.): \**hu-vis(ta)-tama-* “most well-found”. Cf. *Umišda* and, for the haplology, *Turmišduma*.

**UMADANA:** \**hu-vādāna-*, patron. of \**hu-vāda-* “leading well”.

**Umitra** (1), see *Umiša*.

**UMUYARAKKA** (fem.): \**hu-vyāra-kā-* “the light” (opposite of heavy), to Sogd. *xwy’r* “easy”, on which see Henning, «BSOAS» 11 (1946), 720. Etymologically \**hu-vyāra-* may have meant “easy to raise, lift”, cf. Av. *vyārayeite mām* (base *<sup>1</sup>ar-*) “he makes me rise, get up”.

**Ume/izza**, each (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Unukama** (1): \**hu-nigāma*- “(born) at a good time”, to Sogd. *ny'm* “time”. Other words for “time” seem to be present in *Ankama* and *Zamannuma* (qq.v.). The god of time is recognizable in *Izrudukma*.

**Unama** (1): \**hu-nāma*- “having a good name, reputation”, cf. Skt *su-nāman* “well named” (also n. pr.).

**UNAPA**: \**hu-nāfa* “belonging to a good family”, cf. *Unabanuš*.

**Unabanuš** (1): \**hunāfāni*-, -āni- patronymic of *Unapa*.

**Unušša** (1): \**hu-nuša*- “having a good, or beautiful, daughter-in-law”, as a nickname? Cf. Skt *smuṣā*, Pašto *nžōr*, Oss. (Dig.) *nuosta*.

**UNU-YA-KKA** (?): \**hu-nayaka*- “good leader”, cf. Skt *sunayaka* (n. pr.), or \**hu-nyāka*- “having a good grandfather (or good ancestors)”, cf. *Unušša*? B. finds the “grandfather” in *Nuyakka* (1), but here again we may have a “leader”. For the spelling *muya* cf. *Irdunuya*.

**Hubakka** and, fem., **HUBAKKA**: \**hu-pākā*-, -kā- extension of \**hu-pā*- “protecting well”. Cf. *Manbaka*, *Miššabakaš*, *Ukpunda*.

**Ubbama** (1) and **UKBAMA**: either ~Av. *upāma*- “the uppermost”, or = \**hu-bāma*- “of beautiful lustre”, cf. *Bakakbama* and *Irdabama*.

**Ubabana**: \**upāpāna*- (differently B.), patron. of \**upāpa*- (Av. *upāpa*- “im Wasser hausend”), a name which might have arisen in the context of the Gandarōwa myth (cf. s.v. *Kanturma*), although the word may alternatively have served as a true or figurative animal-name say, for the water-rat (cf. the interpretation given above of *Pirdukana*). Cf. the less dramatic *Appiya*.

**Uparmiya** (1) (fem.), which B. takes for \**hu-barmiyā*-, may simply stand for \**hu-parvyā*- “the pre-eminent”, which would be an epithet closely related to the Av. fem. *hu-paurvā*- “die reichlich voranstehende”.

**Ubaruš**, (1): \**hu-pāru*- “having well-formed shoulder(-blades)”, a compound containing the ancestor of NP *pārū* (<\**pāruka*-) “shovel, paddle, oar” (see «BSOAS» 17 [1955], 480 n. 1). Cf. Oss. *fiyyag* “shovel”: Wx *fīak* “shoulder-blade”: Sogd. *βyk* “shoulder” (Bailey, «TPhS» 1946, 204).

**Upirradda** (+ vars.) (apud B.) was already known in the form *Upirda*, and correctly related by Cameron, *PTT*, 7 n. 41, to *Eḡpārās* (whose -*pārās*, just like the *Φατα*- of *Φαταφέρνης*, represents OP \**frata*-, cf. Ved. *pratād-vasu*).

**HUPIRRADUŠ** is perhaps an ethnicon derived from the name of the Euphrates, which is written *upratuš* in the El. version of Beh., para. 19.

**Upiš** (1) and **Ukpiš** (1) ~Av. *hubiš*, nom. sg. of *hubiš*- “he who provides good healing”. Here also the *Uppis* of Justi, *NB* 334? If *Ukbeza* and *Upizza* (s.v. *Atpizza*) are derived from our name one would have to assume that a shift to the *i*-stem declension had taken place in OP, with acc. \**hubim* and loss of etymological transparency. Cf. *Napiyapiš*.

**HUPUDA** (fem.): \**hu-baudā*- “the fragrant”, cf. Av. *hu-baodi*- and *baoda*- (*AHM* 159 sq.). See *Bauda* above.

**Huptikama** (1): \**hufti-kāma*- “forever wanting to sleep, dormouse”, to Skt *supti* “sleep”.

**Ubat(t)iya** and **Ukbateya** (var. -*tiya*): \**upa-daya*- “supervisor”, cf. Av. *paiti-daya*- “supervisor”.

**Upizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Urikama**: a compound of the OP equivalents of Av. *urvī*- (if < \**vrī*-) and Oss. *kom*, hence “having a pointed mouth”? Cf. Av. *urvī-sara*- “mit spitzer Schnautze”, said of the hedgehog.

*Uratinda*, see *Ratininda*.

*Urdadda* (1), see s.v. *Mašdadda*.

**Uratezza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Uškamanza** (1): \**uskā-manča*- “whose rank (*lit.* platform) is (on) high”, to the Av. adverb *uskāt* “high”, and Skt *mañca* “platform, raised seat, dais, stage”. Or nickname of a rock-carver?

**Ušema** (1) (fem.): \**hu-šaivā*- “providing good service”, to Skt *sevā*. See *Ukbaema*.

**Ušsuma**: \**hu-šava*- ~Ved. *su-śrávas* “famous”, see *Tarkašuma* and *Maušuma*.

**Uššaba** (1): \**hu-šaba*- “belonging to good society”, to Ved. *sabhā* “assembly, society”. See s.v. *Abbatašba*.

**Ušba** (1) “having good dogs”, thematization of the nom. sg. \**hu-spā*. Cf. the patronymic *Ušbanuš*, and see (especially *Išba* and *Šarukba*) s.v. *Ušbaka*.



*Ušbaka* (var. *Huš-*), quoted already by Cameron, *PTT* 48 n. 10, was explained in «AM» 2 (1951), 136 n. 1 as *\*hu-spaka-* "having good dogs", with reference to Parth. *\*spg* to which, of course, belong Med. *σπάξα* (Herodotus I 110), Av. *spaka-*, and, with Persian treatment of Indo-Ir. *šv*, NP *sag*. The OP ancestor of the last form, *\*saka-*, is seen in *Šakka*, *Šakiš*, *Šak(k)izza* (s.v. *Atpizza*), and *Kabašakka*, without the *-ka-* suffix in *Šarukba*. The *sp* variant is further attested in *Išbakatukka* and *Išbakazza* (s.v. *Atpizza*), without the *-ka-* suffix in *Išba*, *Ušba*, and *Ušba-muš*.

*Ušbanuš* (var. *Huš-*), *-āni-* patronymic of *Ušba*.

*Ušaptiš* (1): *\*hu-šapti-* "having a good steed", to RV *sāpti*. Cf. *Aptiš*.

*Ušira* (1): *\*hu-šira-* ~ Av. *\*hu-srīra-* "beautifully beautiful", see s.v. *Širadamma*.

*Ušdakka* (1): *\*uštaka-* "the desired one". A little differently B., who takes the name as retrenched from a compound.

*Ušdamakana* may well presuppose *\*ušta-maga-* as B. says, but the suffixation is patronymic and the name ends in *\*gāna-*.

*Wutriya* (1): *\*hu-θrāya-* "protecting well", cf. Av. *θrāyō-* *driyu-* "protecting the poor".

*Udusana* (var. *Utamsana*) (fem.): *\*hu-tauθānā-*, *-ānā-* metronymic to Av. *hutaosā-*, Parth. *xwds* (Henning, «BSOAS» 11 [1943], 73 sq.), Gr. *Ἀροσσα*.

*Huttaš* (1): *\*hudā(h)-* or, with thematization, *\*huda-*, to Av. *hudāh-* (Bth.'s stem *hu-dā(y)-*) "einsichtig, verständig".

*UYARAKKA*: *-ka-* extension of *Uyara* (to Av. *huyāirya-*, apud B.).

*Uzakka*: *\*hu-zāga-* "having a beautiful voice"? Cf. *Šumizakka* and *Takkauka*.

*-U-ZIRRA* (?) (fem.): *\*hu-jīrā-* "beautifully clever", to Av. *jīra*.

[*HIWUKKAPARDA*, see *Hiyaukapirša*].

*Hiyakka* (?) (1): *\*yaka-* "Jag-tree", masculinization of OP *yakā-*, on which see «BSOAS» 19 (1957), 317 sq., 21 (1958), 174. That initial El. *hi(y)-* before vowel is equivalent to *y-* is clear from the variant *Hiašda* of *Yašda* = Av. *yašta-* (apud B.). The same is evidently true of initial *hih-*.

*Hiyaukapirša* (1) has as first component *\*yauka-*, cf. Sogd. *ywk* "science, teachings" (B., *Vessantara Jātaka*, p. 92 on 28<sup>b</sup>). [The second component is shown to be *\*-bṛza-* by the OP dialect variant of the name, *Hivukkaparda*, which Hallock recently communicated to me (cf. above, p. 169 n. 2). Hence "science-exalter", cf. the names assembled s.v. *Šandupirzana*. El. *ša* for expected *za* after *r* as in the variant of *Battikurza*].

*YAMA*: *\*yama-* ~ Av. *yima-*. Cf. the *-ka-* extension *Yamakka* (apud B.), and see *Yamakšedda* and *Yamašadda*.

*Yamakšedda* (var. *Ammak-*) ~ Av. *Yimō xšaētō*, the ancestor of the NP *Jamšēd*, was the first name to delight me in Hallock's original list of 1961. B. has of course also recognized it, and duly notes its significance in respect of "toutes sortes de questions". To his remarks we may add references to *Šāda*, *Yama* in the preceding entry, and above all to *Yamašadda* below.

*Yaumanizza* (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

*YAMAŠADDA*. This can hardly be a blunder for *Yamakšedda*. It is true that in view of the existence of *Šedda* by itself the internal *š* might here stand for *xš*. But that in addition the scribe should have left the diphthong unexpressed seems to me unbelievable. Accordingly I am prepared to recognize in the new form an Iranian name *\*yamāšāta-* < *\*yama-ašāta-* "unhappy Yama". Remarkable as such a name may seem, its existence would be justified by the presupposition, forced on us in any case by the occurrence at Persepolis of *Yamakšedda*, that the western Iranians were as familiar with the Yima myths, and with the traditional wording relating them, as the ancient eastern Iranian audiences of the Avestan texts. For a famous Avestan passage, *Yt* 19.34, relates that when Fortune left him because he had admitted the Lie within the purview of his desires (cf. B., *Infinitifs*, 50 sq.), "Yima the illustrious (*yimō xšaētō*), possessor of good flocks, wept [thus Henning], **unhappy Yima** (*yimō ašātō*), and, laid low by hostility, kept down [cf. OP *dāraya-* "to stay, reside"] on the ground". The very syntax of this period seems to proclaim a change of Yima's name as a result of his fall. Accordingly one may hold that the name *Yamašadda* represents the common man, Adam fallen from grace as it were, while *Yamakšedda* stands for the unattainable ideal, harking back as it does to the never-returning Golden Age of which Yima was the symbol, and ruler

up to his downfall. It would be easy to imagine an ancient poetry-lover, such as abound to the present day even, and most noticeably, in the so-called backward areas of Iran, naming one of two sons \**Yamaxšaita*-, the other \**Yamāšāta*-.

**Hiumizza** (+ vars.), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Yaunā** (vars. *-na*, *-naya*). B. only quotes *Yauna* "Grec" which, however, being a mere variant of *Yaunā*/*Yaunaya*, is surely no more than a defective writing (omission of the last sign of *ia-u-na-a* as written in *PTT* 119, lines 20 sq.). The name, as Cameron, too, failed to realize, is OP \**yauniya*-, derived from the *yauna*- of the inscriptions as OP (*h*)*ūšiya*- "Elamite" was from (*h*)*ūša*- "Elam(ite)". The inscriptional form *yauna*- for "an Ionian" occurs among Hallock's names only in the compound *Yaunaparza* (q.v.). For *-(i)ya* being represented by El. *-ā* see s.v. *Šaušā*.

**Yaunaparza** (1): \**yauna-b(a)rja*- "he who welcomes Greeks, Greek-panderer, φιλέλληρ", to Av. *bərəjaya*- (base *barəg*-) "will-kommen heissen". However well-intentioned the name-givers may have been—but there is nothing to show that they were in the least—there must have been occasions, between 509 and 494, when Yaunapirza would gladly have exchanged names with say, *Mirmuzana*.

**Hiuda** (1): \**yauda*- "fighting" or "striving", a retrenched name. Cf. *Mirayauda*, *Šuddayauda* and *Hihuddamana*.

**HIHUDDAMANA**: \**yauda-mana(h)*- "combat-minded". Here we have at last, on native soil and as early as one might wish, the original name of which the pr. n. *ywdmngn*, Ἰωδμανγαν in the Greco-Median inscription of Armazi (on which see Henning, *Mitteliranisch* 38 sq.) is strictly speaking a patronymic derivative. Cf. B., «JA» 1958, 53, and see *Hiuda*.

**Hiyautarra** (1): \**yā(h)u-dāra*- "holder, possessor, of movable property", to Av. *yāṇhuya*-.

**Yašnamanka** (1), whose *-manka* is left unexplained by B., is almost sure to represent \**yasna-vaṇha*- (or \**yašna*°) "he who prays the Yasna", to the base *vah*- of Av. *vahma*- and OP *patiyāva(y)hyai*, cf. the Av. pr. n. *paiti.vayha*- "Supplicator" (Bth., *Zum air. Wb.* 218) and see s.v. *Narišanka*.

**Zauka** (1): \**jahuka*- "the weakling", to Ved. *jāsu* "exhaustion, weakness". Cf. *Zaukizza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Zikkuku** (1): \**ča/igauku*- "sparrow" (NP *čuyūk*)? [On the final *-u* instead of expected *-uš*, and on the significance of final *-š* in El. transpositions from Iranian, see my forthcoming Ratanbai Katrak Lectures].

**Zakamukka** (var. *-kkamka*) and **Zikamukka** (1): \**zāgū-vahu-ka*-, with the original *z* of *Takkauka* and *Dakamanuš*, qq.v.

**Zakmana** (1): thematic extension of \**čagman*- (Av. *čagəman*-) "gift", or *-āna*- patronymic of a thematicized \**čagma*-. Retrenched name. The base is the same as is met with in *Appi-zakmuš* (q.v.).

**Zakarna** (1): \**jāg(a)rna*- "the watchful"? Cf. Skt *jāgaraṇā* "awake", and see *Kammazikara*.

**Zaukizza**, see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Zama** (1): \**jāma*-, retrenched from *jāmāšpa*-, hence "assembler" (?), see s.v. *Ankamaššiš*. Cf. possibly *Ankama*.

**Zimak(k)a**: \**zimaka*- "the wintery (= born in winter)", cf. *Ziyana*, *Zarmekka*/*Tarmiya*, *Miwištiš*, and *Antarma*.

**Zamannuma** (var. *-manma*): \**jamanwa*- "the timely" (perhaps at birth, cf. *Ankudda*), thematic extension of \**jamanu*- "time". This name and *Zamanba* (q.v.) combine to confirm Henning's inspired distinction, perceived on the strength of the Sogdian evidence alone, between an OIr. *-u*-stem *jamanu*- meaning "time" in general, and an *-an*- stem \**jaman*- meaning "hour", see *GMS*, para. 512 n.

**Zamanba** (1): \**jaman-pā*- "drinking the libation at the right hour" (see under the preceding entry), cf. *Pirrumanba* and *Irdukba*. As stated s.v. *Irdukba*, it was probably on that compound, whose existence as far back as the Indo-Iranian period is now assured, that *Zamanba* was modelled in Iranian times. The precise chronological indication in the case of *Zamanba* suggests that, although originally the first component of *rtu-pā*- may have meant no more than "the right time", by the time \**jaman-pā*- was coined the duration of the *rtu*- had been fixed in astronomical terms. The Manichean Sogdians used *rtw* as a technical term for the smallest time-unit, 10 seconds, see Henning, «SPAW» 1934, 33 n. 4. If by early Achaemenian times the inherited compound \**rtu-pā*- was reinterpreted as meaning "he who drinks the libation at the right time within ten seconds" (or within some other subdivision of the hour), it would seem that the alternative

compound \**faman-pā-* was coined for the purpose of allowing the harassed drinker a more generous margin of error.

**Zimardanra** (?) (I): \**zamar-dayra-* "skilful underground (= *qanāt*-digger)", cf. Av. *zamar-gūz-* "hiding underground" and *dayra* (< \**dahra-*) "kundig, geschickt". See *Nuttima* and cf. *Pirdukana*.

*Zamašba*, see s.v. *Ankamaššiš* and cf. *Zama*.

**Zanuš** (I): \**čani-*, patron. of \**čana-*, retrenched from compounds with \**čana-* (Av. *činah*) "desire", cf. under *Zinizza* s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Zandukka** (I), see *Tandukka*.

**Zinizza** (I), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Zappanmumana** (I): \**zafan-vamāna-*, patronymic of \**zafan-vama-* "mouth-squirt, expectorator", to Av. *zafan-* (NP *dahan*) "mouth" and *vam-* "to vomit, spit, emit" (for the relation between the compound-terms cf. *Zišmarka*). The Av. pr. n. *zavan-* may be a retrenchment of some such compound if its *v* is from *b*, the Indo-Ir. base being \**žabh-*. Cf. the next two entries.

**Zabbara** (I): \**zafara-*, thematic extension of \**zafar-* = Av. *zafar-* "mouth", which alternates with *zafan-*. Retrenched name. Cf. the preceding entry, and the following, as well as *Dabara*.

**Zappirna** (I): \**zafrāna-*, patronymic of \**zafra-*, thematic extension of the weak stem of *zafar-* (see the preceding entry), used as a retrenched name. Alternatively \**jafrāna-*, patron. to Av. *jafra-* "deep", cf. *Kappirruš* (?).

**Zarmekka** (I): \**zarmayaka-* "vernal, = born in spring", to Av. *zarmaya-*; cf. s.v. *Zimak(k)a*. See *Tarmiya*.

**Zasuma** (I): \**zazva-* "victorious", thematization of what in Av. is *zazvah-*, cf. the Av. superlative *zazuštama-*. For the El. rendering *su* of Ir. *zu/v* (also in *Nasukka* = \**nāzuka-* "the delicate, tender", apud B., cf. Parth. *n'zvg*, Man. Sogd. *n'zwk*) see « JNES » 24 (1965), 183.

*Zisramaš*, see *Ziššawiš*.

**Ziš(š)uk(k)a**, see *Ziššawiš* at the end.

*Ziššamakka*, see *Ziššawiš* at the end.

**Zišmarka** (I): \**čašma-harka-* "froth-eye", lit. "eye-discharger, troubled by eye-discharge", to Av. *harək-*, formed like

*Zappanmuma(na)*. Cf. *Mizzašma* and, for El. *zi* representing *ča*, the variant *zi* of *Baduzarma*.

*Ziššawmaš*, see *Ziššawiš*.

*Ziššantakma*, see *Zitrantakma*.

*Ziššawiš* (+ vars., incl. *Zisramaš*). B. has recognized *čiθra-* in *Zišša-*, but does not account for the *-(a)wiš* of *Ziššawiš*; he believes that "il faut en séparer *Zisramaš* qui est probablement une haplographie de \**čiša-sravah-*". This explanation of *Zisramaš* is open to the objection that El. *sr* stands for *θr*, not for *sr*, while OP *š* is expressed in El. by *š(š)*, so that no case for haplography arises. But the decisive consideration must be that *Zisramaš*, being not the name of one of *Ziššawiš*'s colleagues, but a variant of *Ziššawiš*'s own name, cannot be separated from it. The fact is that also in the Treasury tablets *Zi-iš-šá-u-ma-iš* (i.e. (*Ziššawmaš*) is a variant of *Zi-iš-šá-u-u-iš* (i.e. *Ziššauwiš*), see PTT 133, being clearly no more than the thematic extension of the *u*-stem represented by *Zišša(u)wiš*. The name must have been current in both forms, as we have *Rašdauma* beside *Rašdauka* (a regular El. spelling of whose *ka*-less variant would be \**Rašda(u)wiš*). Almost certainly, therefore, Cameron, p. 133, was right in interpreting *Ziššauwiš* as \**čiša-vahu-* (better \**čišā-vahu-*). In any case the rendering of Ir. *ōi-vahu-* by El. *-(a)wiš* in the case of *Zišša(u)wiš* has a transparent parallel in the spelling *Dariyawiš* (*Da-ri-ia-u-iš*, see PTT 91) of Darius's name in both Treasury and Fortification tablets, beside the usual *Dariyamawiš* (*Da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš*) of the inscriptions. Further examples, apart from *Irdawiš*, are *Pirradawiš* and *Ampirdawiš*. Already Cameron compared the form \**čiša-vahu-* he had reconstructed and translated "of good lineage", with Gr. *Τιβραβσσης* = \**čiθrā-vahišta-*, obviously implying, and rightly so, that the latter meant not "der beste von Ansehen (oder Abkunft)" as Justi translated, but "of best lineage, whose lineage is the best (of all lineages)". Thanks to the appearance in Hallock's list of *Mauzišša* and *Mauzittarra* (var. *-itra*) = \**vahu-čiša-* (*ōθra-*) "of good lineage" (both apud B., but unconvincingly translated "dont le bien est l'origine"), we can now be sure that *Ziššawiš* is indeed an inverted bahuvrihi. This assurance entitles us to look for similar inversions also in other names, as has been done repeatedly in the preceding pages, for instance s.v. *Rašdama*. As to the thematic-

ized variants of the name, Cameron's *Ziṣṣawmaš* will represent standard OP *\*čiṣā-va(h)v-a-*, and Hallock's *Zisramaš* general Ir. *\*čiθrā-va(h)va-*. [Hallock's recent information, cf. above, p. 169 n. 2, that *Ziṣṣamakka* (1) also appears to refer to the prominent Ziṣṣawiš, suggests that this spelling represents *\*čiṣā-vakva-ka-* (and not *\*čiṣa-maga-* "aux dons brillants", as B. supposes), El. *-ama-* here and in *Zisramaš* corresponding to the *-auma* of *Rašdauma*. It is then likely that to *Rašdauka* corresponds the name which in the 1963 List appears as **Ziṣ(š)uk(k)a**, which may stand for *\*čiṣā-va(h)u-ka-*, with *-ukka* as in the names listed s.v. *Širauka*].

*Zašturzadda* (1), see *Šašturdapirda*.

**Ziṣṣezza** (1), see s.v. *Atpizza*.

**Zāda** (1): *\*čaita-*, thematicized retrenchment of some name like *\*hu-čaita(h)-* ~ Ved. *su-cētas* "having good intelligence, wise".

**Zattukka** (1): *\*zātā-vahu-ka-* "born good", see s.v. *Dadumanya*.

*ZITEKUTRA* invites a reconstruction *\*č(a)itaya(t)-gauθra-* whose first component, to judge from the Ved. causative *ce|itaya-* ought to mean "intent upon". As an abstract of *gav-* "procurer" (see B., «OLZ» 55 [1960], 7) *\*gauθra-* might then mean "gain" in general, or in particular "family increase, children", which sense might have led on to that of Skt *gotrā* "family" (for which B. accounts a little differently).

**Zātarriš** (1): *\*jaya-dāri-*, patron. of *\*jaya-dāra-* "victory-holder, victor", cf. Skt *jayadhara* (pr. n.).

*ZITRANTAKMA* (= *\*čiθrantaxma-*, the general Ir. form) corresponds to *Ziṣṣantakma* (= *čiṣantaxma-*, standard OP in respect of *š* but not of *xm*) in the Beh. Inscr., and to *Tiṣṣantama* (1) (apud B.) in Hallock's 1963 typescript. B. offers no comments on the last variant, which yet is of outstanding interest. It is certainly Persian, witness the *šš* for OP *š* and *mm* for OP *m < xm*. Persian, therefore, is also the initial *t* for *č*, which has long been familiar from the Greek rendering *Τριτανταίχμης*. Greek tau at the beginning of the *čiθra-* word also appears in *Τιθραύστης* (see s.v. *Ziṣṣawiš*) and *Τισσαπένης*. The OP original of the latter is always quoted as *\*čiṣafarnah-* (which no doubt existed, cf. also *Zitraparna* below), while in reality we now see that it was *\*tiṣa-*

*farnah-*. Cf. also Gr. *Τείσσης* for OP *Ciṣpi-*. In MP the phenomenon occurs in *tys*, *tswm*, *tsb'y*, and *tskyrb* (see Tedesco, «MO» 15, 209); in modern dialects it is not confined to Kurd. *tišt* "thing" as Tedesco thought, but is found also in Kermānī and Behdīnānī (in the former from the latter?) *taspūč* "quarter" (see M. Sotoodeh, *Farhang-e Kermānī*, and J. S. Soroushian and M. Sotoodeh, *Farhang-e Behdīnān*).

*ZITRAPAR-NA-* (?): *\*čiθra-farnah-*, see s.v. *Zitrantakma*.

*ZITRAŠBADA*: *\*čiθra-spāda-* "having, heading, a brilliant army".

*ZITRA-TAM-ŠAKA* (?): *\*čiθra-dauša-ka-* "fond of his family".

**Zādada** (1) "born in splendour (Ved. *cētas*)", i.e. *\*čaidāta- < \*čaitadāta-*, with *d < z < hz* or *šz*? Cf. *Mādada* and *Māzana*.

*ZIYA* (fem.): *\*jīyā-*, retrenched name; cf. *Takmaziya*.

**Ziyana** "born in winter", ~ Av. *zayana-* "winterlich; winterliche Zeit". Cf. s.v. *Zimak(k)a*.

**Zizza** (1): *\*čič(č)a-*, cf. RV *ciccikā*, name of a bird.

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